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The American Historical Association supplies THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW to all its members; annual dues are \$10.00; applications for membership should be sent to the Executive Secretary, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003. Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent to the Executive Secretary within two months of the date of publication of the issue. (For further information, see American Historical Association announcement following last page of text.)

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* * * *Table of Contents* * * *

VOLUME LXX, NUMBER 4

JULY 1965

Articles

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY'S ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER: A RE-EVALUATION OF THE <i>HISTORIA NOVELLA</i> , by Robert B. Patterson	983
THE REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, by William H. Nelson	998
GREAT BRITAIN AND THE 1914-1915 STRAITS AGREEMENT WITH RUSSIA: THE BRITISH PROMISE OF NOVEMBER 1914, by C. Jay Smith, Jr.	1015
HANS ZEHREER AS A NEOCONSERVATIVE ELITE THEORIST, by Walter Struve	1035
DECOLONIZATION IN INDONESIA: THE PROBLEM OF CONTINUITY AND CHANGE, by Harry J. Benda	1058

Reviews of Books

General

<i>Einzig</i> , THE HISTORY OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE, by Warren S. Hunsberger	1074
<i>Nef</i> , THE CONQUEST OF THE MATERIAL WORLD, by Charles W. Cole	1075
<i>Palmer</i> , THE AGE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION, A POLITICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE AND AMERICA, 1760-1800: THE CHALLENGE, by Paul H. Beik	1076
<i>Kemiläinen</i> , NATIONALISM, by Boyd C. Shafer	1078
<i>White</i> , THE DIPLOMACY OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, by Hyman Kublin	1079
<i>Black</i> and <i>Thornton</i> , eds., COMMUNISM AND REVOLUTION, by Robert F. Byrnes	1079

Ancient and Medieval

<i>Lévéque</i> , L'AVENTURE GRECQUE, by Moses Hadas	1081
<i>Syme</i> , SALLUST, by James E. Seaver	1082
<i>Bisson</i> , ASSEMBLIES AND REPRESENTATION IN LANGUEDOC IN THE THIR- TEENTH CENTURY, by J. Russell Major	1083
<i>Doehaerd</i> , ÉTUDES ANVERSOISES, I-III; <i>Van der Wee</i> , THE GROWTH OF THE ANTWERP MARKET AND THE EUROPEAN ECONOMY (FOURTEENTH- SIXTEENTH CENTURIES), I-III, by Raymond de Roover	1084
<i>Wilkinson</i> , CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY (1399-1485) WITH ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS, by William Huse Dunham, Jr.	1086

Modern Europe

<i>Namier</i> and <i>Brooke</i> , CHARLES TOWNSHEND, by Robert Walcott	1088
<i>Cone</i> , BURKE AND THE NATURE OF POLITICS, II, by Stanley Pargellis	1089
<i>Abel-Smith</i> , THE HOSPITALS, 1800-1948, by C. L. Mowat	1090
<i>Orwin</i> and <i>Whetham</i> , HISTORY OF BRITISH AGRICULTURE, 1846-1914, by David Spring	1091
<i>Nowell-Smith</i> , ed., EDWARDIAN ENGLAND, 1901-1914, by John Clive	1092
<i>Bosher</i> , THE SINGLE DUTY PROJECT, by Robert Forster	1093
<i>Cobban</i> , THE SOCIAL INTERPRETATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, by	

Table of Contents—Continued

iii

Jeffrey Kaplow	1094
Tilly, THE VENDÉE, by Leo Gershoy	1096
Larmour, THE FRENCH RADICAL PARTY IN THE 1930's, by Philip C. F. Bankwitz	1098
Carsten, REICHSWEHR UND POLITIK, 1918-1933, by Harold J. Gordon, Jr.	1099
Benoist-Méchin, HISTOIRE DE L'ARMÉE ALLEMANDE, I-IV, by Gordon A. Craig	1101
Carter, THE SECRET DIPLOMACY OF THE HABSBURGS, 1598-1625, by Theodore K. Rabb	1102
Braubach, PRINZ EUGEN VON SAVOYEN, II and III, by Donald F. Lach	1103
Kristeller, EIGHT PHILOSOPHERS OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE, by Marvin B. Becker	1105
Salvemini, DALLA GUERRA MONDIALE ALLA DITTATURA (1916-1925), by Norman Kogan	1106
Perdenia, STANOWISKO RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ SZLACHECKIEJ WOBEC SPRAWY UKRAINY NA PRZEŁOMIE XVII-XVIII W.; <i>Wąsicki</i> , ZIEMIE POLSKIE POD ZABOREM PRUSKIM; <i>Walachowicz</i> , MONOPOLE KSIĄŻĘCE W SKARBOWOŚCI W CZESNOFEUDALNEJ POMORZA ZACHODNIEGO, by Konstantin Symmons-Symonolewicz	1107
Harcave, FIRST BLOOD, by Arthur E. Adams	1109
Tsereteli, VOSPOMINANIA O FEVRAL'SKOI REVOLIUTSII, by John M. Thompson	1110
Bilinsky, THE SECOND SOVIET REPUBLIC, by John S. Reshetar, Jr.	1111

Africa

Mveng, HISTOIRE DU CAMEROUN; Bennett, KENYA, by David E. Gardinier	1112
Wills, AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL AFRICA, by Robert L. Hess	1114
Julien, HISTOIRE DE L'ALGÉRIE CONTEMPORAINE, I, by Richard M. Brace	1115

Asia and the East

Spector, LI HUNG-CHANG AND THE HUAI ARMY, by Jessie G. Lutz	1116
Iḱram, MUSLIM CIVILIZATION IN INDIA, by B. G. Gokhale	1117

Americas

Hofstadter, ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM IN AMERICAN LIFE, by Arthur Bestor	1118
Marx, THE MACHINE IN THE GARDEN, by Willard Thorp	1120
Saveth, ed., AMERICAN HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, by John William Ward	1121
Conrad and Meyer, THE ECONOMICS OF SLAVERY, by Gerald D. Nash	1122
Sensabaugh, MILTON IN EARLY AMERICA, by Louis B. Wright	1123
Smith and Cowl, eds., COURT RECORDS OF PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY, MARYLAND, 1696-1699, by Richard B. Morris	1124
Akers, CALLED UNTO LIBERTY, by Clinton Rossiter	1126
Bailyn, ed., PAMPHLETS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1750-1776, I, by Merrill D. Peterson	1127
Tansill, THE SECRET LOVES OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS, by Max Savelle and Margaret Fisher	1128
Donald, eds., DIARY OF CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, I and II, by Holman Hamilton	1131
Brown, FRONTIER COMMUNITY, by Richard C. Wade	1132
McPherson, THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY, by John Hope Franklin	1133

<i>Catton et al.</i> , GRANT, LEE, LINCOLN AND THE RADICALS, by Don E. Fehrenbacher	1134
<i>Destler</i> , HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD AND THE EMPIRE OF REFORM, by Robert Wiebe	1135
<i>Link</i> , WILSON, by C. H. Cramer	1136
<i>Ratner and Altman</i> , eds., JOHN DEWEY AND ARTHUR F. BENTLEY, by David Noble	1137
<i>Tindall</i> , ed., THE PURSUIT OF SOUTHERN HISTORY, by Carl N. Degler	1138
<i>MacArthur</i> , REMINISCENCES, by Forrest C. Pogue	1140
THE JOURNALS OF DAVID E. LILIENTHAL, I and II, by Walter Johnson	1141
<i>Silver</i> , MISSISSIPPI, by John W. Caughey	1142
<i>Carey</i> , PERU AND THE UNITED STATES, 1900-1962, by Frederick B. Pike	1143
<i>Gibson</i> , THE AZTECS UNDER SPANISH RULE, by Howard F. Cline	1145
<i>Poppino</i> , INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IN LATIN AMERICA, by Robert J. Alexander	1146

Other Recent Publications

Books

General	1148
Ancient and Medieval	1154
Modern Europe	1166
Near East	1208
Africa	1208
Asia and the East	1217
Americas	1224
Articles and Other Books Received	1269

Historical News

Historical News	1314
Communications	1320
Index to Volume LXX	1325

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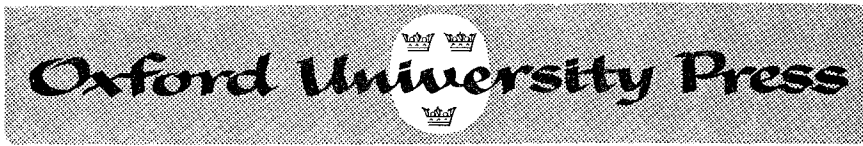
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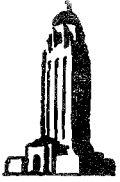
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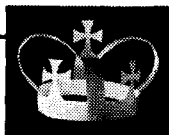
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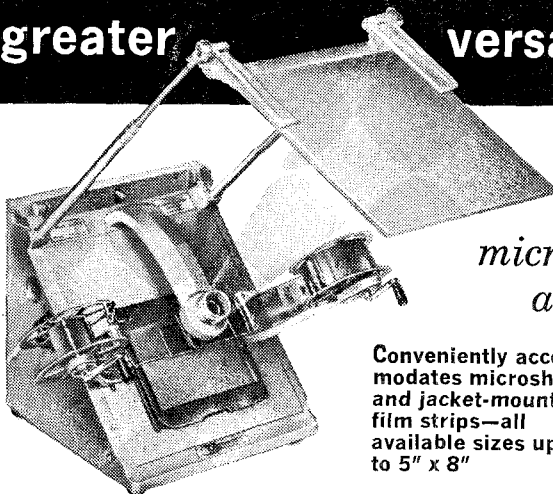
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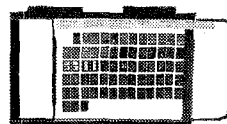


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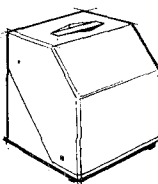
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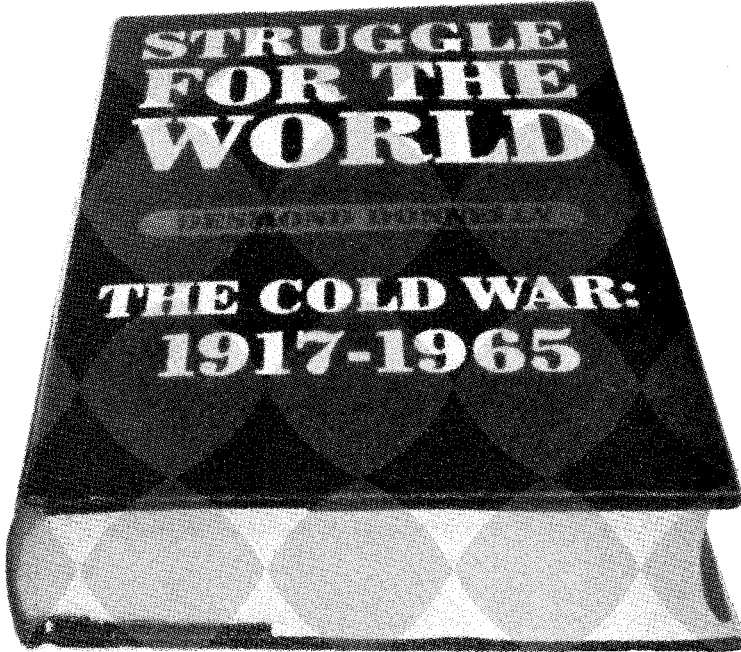
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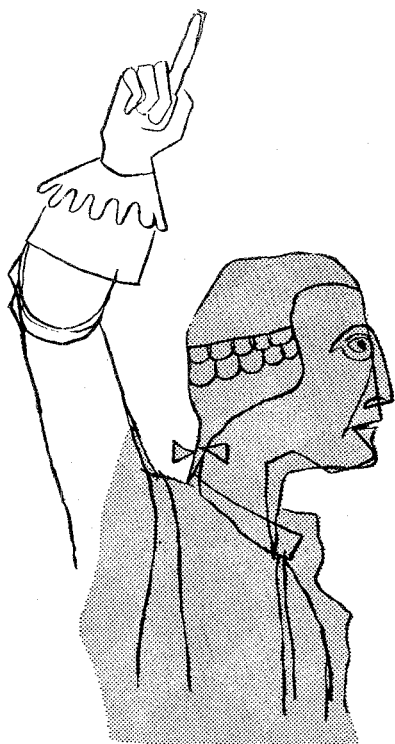
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Contents of Volume LXX

NUMBER 1. OCTOBER 1964

Articles

THE CROWD IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1830 <i>David H. Pinkney</i>	I
AMERICAN HISTORIANS AND THE MILITARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION <i>Don Higginbotham</i>	18
SPOILS OF THE BANK WAR: POLITICAL BIAS IN THE SELECTION OF PET BANKS . . . <i>Frank Otto Gatell</i>	35
POPE PIUS XII AND GERMANY: SOME ASPECTS OF GERMAN-VATICAN RELATIONS, 1933-1943 <i>George O. Kent</i>	59
THE RECOVERY OF AMERICAN RELIGIOUS HISTORY <i>Henry F. May</i>	79
<i>Reviews of Books</i>	93
<i>Other Recent Publications</i>	212
<i>Historical News</i>	318

NUMBER 2. JANUARY 1965

Presidential Address

A MODEST PROPOSAL TO MEET AN URGENT NEED <i>Julian P. Boyd</i>	329
---	-----

Articles

SUCCESSION AND MONARCHY: THE CONTROVERSY OF 1679-1681 <i>Carolyn Andervont Edie</i>	350
PATTERNS OF INDUSTRIAL STRIKE ACTIVITY IN FRANCE DURING THE JULY MONARCHY <i>Peter N. Stearns</i>	371
THE FUTILE COMPROMISE RECONSIDERED: WIELOPOLSKI AND RUSSIAN POLICY IN THE CONGRESS KINGDOM, 1861-1863 . <i>Stanley J. Zyzniewski</i>	395

Notes and Suggestions

AMERICAN STUDIES IN JAPAN	Marius B. Jansen	413
<i>Reviews of Books</i>		418
<i>Other Recent Publications</i>		499
<i>Historical News</i>		633

NUMBER 3. APRIL 1965

Articles

THE ROLE OF THE HORSE IN CHINESE HISTORY		
	H. G. Creel	647
ALMAIN AND MAJOR: CONCILIAR THEORY ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION	Francis Oakley	673
THE GENERAL MOTORS SIT-DOWN STRIKE: A RE-EXAMINATION	Sidney Fine	691
THE ORIGINS OF THE <i>INSTITUT FÜR ZEITGE- SCHICHTE</i> : SCHOLARSHIP, POLITICS, AND THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION, 1945-1949	John Gimbel	714

Notes and Suggestions

COLONIAL COURT RECORDS AND THE STUDY OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW	Michael G. Kammen	732
<i>Reviews of Books</i>		740
<i>Other Recent Publications</i>		833
<i>Historical News</i>		957

NUMBER 4. JULY 1965

Articles

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY'S ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER: A RE-EVALUATION OF THE <i>HISTORIA NOVELLA</i>	Robert B. Patterson	983
--	---------------------	-----

THE REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION	<i>William H. Nelson</i>	998
GREAT BRITAIN AND THE 1914-1915 STRAITS AGREEMENT WITH RUSSIA: THE BRITISH PROMISE OF NOVEMBER 1914	<i>C. Jay Smith, Jr.</i>	1015
HANS ZEHNER AS A NEOCONSERVATIVE ELITE THEORIST	<i>Walter Struve</i>	1035
DECOLONIZATION IN INDONESIA: THE PROBLEM OF CONTINUITY AND CHANGE	<i>Harry J. Benda</i>	1058
<i>Reviews of Books.</i>		1074
<i>Other Recent Publications.</i>		1148
<i>Historical News.</i>		1314
<i>Index to Volume LXX</i>		1325

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William of Malmesbury's Robert of Gloucester: A Re-evaluation of the *Historia Novella*

ROBERT B. PATTERSON*

WILLIAM of Malmesbury, as author, and William Stubbs, as editor and commentator, have largely molded the traditional version of Robert of Gloucester's reaction to Stephen of Blois's accession. This appreciation of their relationship has in turn affected our understanding of Stephen's reign in England (1135-1154).¹ Malmesbury exerted his influence through his *Historia Novella*; Stubbs through his *Constitutional History*, *Select Charters*, and his edition of the *Historia Novella* for the Rolls Series so relied upon by subsequent historians. Malmesbury's work resulted from the patronage of the professed leader of the Angevin revolt against Stephen, Earl Robert of Gloucester; Stubbs's judgments from his uncritical acceptance of the *Historia Novella* as a reliable historical account.²

* An assistant professor at the University of South Carolina, Mr. Patterson is interested chiefly in the Anglo-Norman period of English history and the medieval Mediterranean and the crusades. His article, "The Early Existence of the *Funda* and *Catena* in the Twelfth-Century Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," appeared in *Speculum*, XXXIX (July 1964).

¹ For examples of this, see notes 13, 16, 18, 19, 36, and 39, below.

² Stubbs considered the *Historia Novella* to be a collection of "scanty and scrambling notes . . . so obviously imperfect, and, to a great extent, disorderly in their arrangement, yet . . . in themselves very valuable." Stubbs believed that death or physical disability soon after 1142

Blessed by the sanction of Stubbs, the reputation of the *Historia Novella* as valid historical testimony and Malmesbury's lofty place of honor among twelfth-century historians have both persisted virtually unquestioned, even through a new edition of the *Historia*.³ This paper seeks to temper these judgments of Malmesbury and his chronicle as a necessary preliminary for the revision of an important aspect of Stephen's reign: the role of the Earl of Gloucester in the Angevin revolt. This will be accomplished by checking William of Malmesbury's account of Robert's and Stephen's relations in the *Historia Novella* against the independent testimony of other chronicles, charters, and letters.

Both the Earl of Gloucester and Malmesbury had reason to collaborate. William had been devoted to Robert's father, Henry I, and also was interested in obtaining favors for his monastery, St. Aldhelm's. The first recension of his *Gesta Regum* dating from the early 1120's directly addressed Earl Robert with a suggestive reference to his generosity to St. Mary's Tewkesbury.⁴ The broad exemption from tolls that Henry I afterward granted

prevented the chronicler from arranging his notes in order. The work's panegyric of Robert of Gloucester was "clear and judicious." The bishop of Oxford naïvely accepted Malmesbury's claim of his own horror of flattery and thus believed in the basic objectivity of the *Historia Novella*. *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque; Historia Novella*, ed. William Stubbs (2 vols., London, 1887-89), I, xlii-xliii, II, cxlii, 585; *id.*, *The Constitutional History of England* (3 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1874-78), I, 320, 322, 324, contains judgments, influenced by the *Historia Novella*, that assert the insincerity of Robert of Gloucester's submission to King Stephen; see notes 13 and 16, below; *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the Earliest Times to the Present*, ed. *id.* (5th ed., Oxford, Eng., 1884), 114-17, includes excerpts from the *Historia Novella* among those Stubbs chose to illustrate the character of Stephen's reign; for the influence of Stubbs upon subsequent historians through both the *Constitutional History* and the *Select Charters*, see J. G. Edwards, *William Stubbs* (London, 1952), 5; many telling criticisms of Stubbs are found in H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh, 1963), v-vii, 1-21, *et passim*.

³ In spite of the fact that H. W. C. Davis, "Henry of Blois and Brian fitz Count," *English Historical Review*, XXV (Apr. 1910), 297, observed that "no doubt we receive from William of Malmesbury the version of events Robert of Gloucester desired to be set before posterity," no one has reconsidered the historical value of the chronicle since Stubbs; *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi Historia Novella* [hereafter cited as *HN*], ed. K. R. Potter (Edinburgh, 1955), xiv, while recognizing that "the Malmesbury monk adopted a courtier's attitude to his patron," asserted Malmesbury's "fairmindedness" and insisted that "if he was a time-server . . . , he was at least a time-server with a regard for truth." Potter is not alone. *English Historical Documents 1042-1189*, ed. David C. Douglas and George W. Greenaway (London, 1953), 99, considers that Malmesbury "succeeded in producing a critical commentary on the events of his time"; and V. H. Galbraith, *Historical Research in Medieval England* (London, 1951), 17, testifies that today, "among experts, the historical reputation of William of Malmesbury stands higher than ever before"; Kate Norgate's article, "William of Malmesbury," *Dictionary of National Biography* (66 vols., London, 1885-1901), XII, 351-54, W. Lewis Jones's treatment of the *Historia Novella* in his "Latin Chroniclers from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Centuries," in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, ed. A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller (14 vols., London, 1907-17), I, 182-84, and Heinz Richter's "Wilhelm von Malmesbury," *Englische Geschichtsschreiber des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1938), 54-126, all essentially agree with Stubbs's evaluation of Malmesbury just as they are widely dependent upon Stubbs's research.

⁴ William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. Stubbs, I, lvii, II, 520; see also Richter, "Wilhelm von Malmesbury," 100-101, for the influence upon Malmesbury of the Norman court tradition of historical writing through the works of William of Jumièges and William of Poitiers.

St. Aldhelm's may have been William's reward for that reference.⁵ After King Henry's death, dedication of the *Gesta Regum* to Robert of Gloucester in its last two recensions would suggest that during the five to six years preceding the writing of the *Historia Novella*, Malmesbury was again seeking favors from Earl Robert as was Geoffrey of Monmouth.⁶ For his part, Robert wanted a history of Stephen's reign that would justify his and the Angevins' revolt against Stephen.⁷ Such imaginativeness in seizing upon a literary campaign to complement his military activity agrees with Robert's reputation for scholarly tastes.⁸ But the *gesta Dei per Robertum* which the mutual interest of patron and writer produced as the *Historia Novella* is far from scholarly history, as an analysis of the *Historia's* major points will show. These are Robert's attitudes to Matilda's claims to the throne, Gloucester's submission to King Stephen, the apologia for the Earl's defiance of Stephen, and Earl Robert's selfless leadership of the Angevins.⁹

The following is Malmesbury's account of his patron's reaction to Stephen's accession:

Meanwhile Stephen Count of Mortain and Boulogne, King Henry's nephew . . . , he who first among the laity, after the King of Scots, had bound himself by allegiance to the Empress, hurried on his arrival in England by way of Wissant. For certain reasons the Empress and likewise her brother Robert Earl of Gloucester, together with almost all the nobles, delayed their return to the kingdom.¹⁰

This account omits details that contradict Malmesbury's claim of Gloucester's

⁵ Henry I granted St. Aldhelm's a confirmation of its lands and exemption from tolls throughout England sometime between 1129 and 1135 since Henry of Blois, who attested the charter as bishop of Winchester, became bishop in 1129. This grant would seem to depart considerably from the kind of favor the royal family had shown to St. Aldhelm's earlier in the century. In 1100 Henry I himself confirmed William I's grant of a three-day fair at Malmesbury to the abbot of St. Aldhelm's and extended the privilege to five days; later, Henry I's first wife, Matilda, extended the number of fair days to eight. (See *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, ed. H. W. C. Davis et al. [2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1913-56], II, *Regesta Henrici Primi*, Nos. 494, 971, 1624; *Registrum Malmesburiense*, ed. J. S. Brewer and Charles Trice Martin [2 vols., London, 1879-80], I, 333.)

⁶ William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. Stubbs, I, xxvi-xxviii, xxxi-xxxii, xxxvii-xxxviii, xlv, lii, lv-lvi, lviii; J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae and Its Early Vernacular Versions* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1950), 433-37.

⁷ HN, ed. Potter, 1.

⁸ *Gesta Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. Acton Griscom, tr. Robert Ellis Jones (New York, 1929), 219-20; *Gualteri Mapes De Nugis Curialium Distinctiones Quinque*, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1850), 205; *Lestorie des Engles solum Maistre Geffrey Gaimar*, ed. T. D. Hardy (2 vols., London, 1888-89), I, 6435-58; Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings* (2 vols., London, 1887), I, 92, 94; James Westfall Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1939), 169-75.

⁹ HN, ed. Potter, 2-13, 14-18, 20-23, 34-61, 64-70, 71-76, et passim.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ed. Potter, 14-15: "Interea Stephanus comes Moritonii et Bononie, nepos regis Henrici . . . , qui post regem Scottie primus laicorum fidem suam imperatrici obstrinxerat, in Angliam per Witsand maturavit aduentum. Imperatrix certis ex causis, simul et frater eius Robertus comes Gloecestre, cum omnibus pene proceribus, redire in regnum distulerunt." (Unless otherwise indicated, the English translations of the *Historia Novella* that appear in the text of this article will be Potter's.)

loyalty to Matilda. Malmesbury failed to indicate that Robert actually aided the transfer of power to the House of Blois after Henry I's death. Robert was among the Anglo-Norman leaders who elected Theobald of Blois king on December 20, 1135. Then upon receiving news from England of the coup of Theobald's brother, Stephen, Robert surrendered Falaise, a royal treasury then in his custody, to Theobald.¹¹

To further the impression of Robert's devotion to Matilda, Malmesbury also may have distorted the significance of several facts. The *Historia* claims that Robert fought for the privilege of swearing first to Matilda's succession with Stephen of Blois at the London court of 1126. Also, Robert was supposedly closely associated with Matilda's Angevin marriage by being among the few *familiares* originally privy to the plan:

So all in that council took the oath who were regarded as carrying any weight, first William Archbishop of Canterbury. . . . Of the laity David King of Scots . . . swore first, next Stephen Count of Mortain and Boulogne . . . then Robert the king's son. . . . There was a noteworthy contest, it is said, between Robert and Stephen, who as rivals in distinction strove with each other for the honor of swearing first, the one regarding the prerogative of a son, the other the rank of a nephew. . . . I myself have often heard Roger Bishop of Salisbury saying that he was released from the oath he had taken to the Empress because he had sworn only on condition that the king should not give his daughter in marriage to anyone outside the kingdom without consulting himself and the other chief men, and that no-one had recommended that marriage or been aware that it would take place except Robert Earl of Gloucester and Brian Fitz Count, and the Bishop of Lisieux.¹²

None of these episodes, however, proves Robert's devotion to the Empress. The London incident probably concerned a place of honor, the King's favorite nephew versus the King's favorite son, while Robert's knowledge of Matilda's marriage may have signified no more than the honor in which the King held Robert.

Earl Robert's submission to Stephen in 1136 demanded Malmesbury's special attention as the most obvious exception to the alleged continuity in

¹¹ *Chronica Roberti De Torigneio*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett (4 vols., London, 1884-89), IV, 129; *Orderici Vitalis Historiae Ecclesiasticae Libri Tredecim*, ed. Auguste le Prévost (5 vols., Paris, 1838-55), V, 50-51.

¹² *HN*, ed. Potter, 4: "Iurauerunt ergo cuncti, quicunque in eodem concilio alicuius uiderentur esse momenti; primo Willelmus Cantuarie archiepiscopus. . . . Laicorum primus iurauit David rex Scotie. . . . tum Stephanus comes Moritonii et Bononie, nepos Henrici regis. . . . mox Robertus regis filius. . . . Notabile, ut dicitur, fuit certamen inter Robertum et Stephanum, dum emula laude uirtutum inter se contenderent quis eorum prior iuraret, illo priuilegium filii, isto dignitatem nepotis spectante"; *ibid.*, 5: "Ego Rogerum Salesberiensem episcopum sepe dicentem audiui, solum se sacramento quod imperatrici fecerat: eo enim pacto se iurasse, ne rex preter consilium suum et ceterorum procerum filiam cuiquam nuptum daret extra regnum. Eius matrimonii nullum auctorem, nullum fuisse conscium, nisi Robertum comitem Gloecestre, et Brianum filium comitis, et episcopum Luxouiensem": see also Oskar Rössler, *Kaiserin Mathilde, Mutter Heinrichs von Anjou, und das Zeitalter der Anarchie in England* (Berlin, 1897), 18-20.

his patron's loyalty to Matilda. Against this fact, the chronicler alleged the insincerity of Robert's homage coupled with his continued efforts to organize a pro-Angevin party:

In the same year, after Easter, Robert Earl of Gloucester, for whose wisdom King Stephen had the greatest respect, came to England. He had wearied his mind with much reflection, while he was in Normandy, on what he thought he should decide to do in this matter, for he saw that if he submitted to King Stephen it would be contrary to the oath he had taken to his sister, but understood that if he resisted it would bring no advantage to his sister or nephews and would certainly do enormous harm to himself. . . . and already all the chief men of England had willingly gone over to his [Stephen's] side. So that very wise earl was anxious to convince them of their fault and bring them to a sounder opinion by personal conversation; for on account of the reasons mentioned above there was no chance of resistance by force, indeed he could not even come to England unless he concealed his secret purpose for a time by pretending to share their breach of faith. Therefore he did homage to the king conditionally, that is to say, for as long as the king maintained his rank unimpaired and kept the agreement, since having long observed the king's disposition he foresaw that he would be likely to break his word.¹³

That Robert of Gloucester was involved in any pro-Angevin plot in 1135-1136 would seem to be directly contradicted by his prominent role in the transfer of power to the House of Blois.¹⁴ Stephen's cordial reception of the Earl at his Easter court of 1136 signified that Robert was not mistrusted by the King.¹⁵ It is gratuitous to imply, as Malmesbury did, that Robert's delay

¹³ *HN*, ed. Potter, 17-18: "Eodem anno post Pascha Robertus comes Gloecestre, cuius prudentiam rex Stephanus maxime uerebatur, uenit in Angliam. Is, dum esset in Normannia, multa cogitatione fatigarat animum quidnam sibi super hoc negotio statuendum putaret: si enim regi Stephano subderetur, contra sacramentum quod sorori fecerat fore uidebat; si refragaretur, nichil sorori uel nepotibus profuturum, sibi certe immaniter nociturum intelligebat. . . . et iam omnes proceres Anglie in eius assensum pronis mentibus transierant. Erat igitur anxius prudentissimus comes ut illos delicti coargueret, et ad sanio rem sententiam presenti colloquio reuocaret; nam uiribus obuiare nulla propter prefatas causas dabatur facultas; cui nimirum nec in Angliam uenire liberum erat, nisi, quasi defectionis eorum particeps, mentis suae archanum ad tempus dissimularet. Itaque homagium regi fecit sub conditione quadam, scilicet, quamdiu ille dignitatem suam integre custodiret et sibi pacta seruaret; spectato enim iam dudum regis ingenio, instabilitatem fidei eius preuidebat"; see also *ibid.*, 65; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, I, 322: "The conditional adhesion of Robert of Gloucester . . . was not a circumstance likely to reassure Stephen"; Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, I, 283-84: "The suddenness of Stephen's accession had snatched the leadership out of his [Robert's] hands, and he lingered on in Normandy, watching the course of events . . . and meditating how to reconcile his own interest with his duty to his sister. Stephen . . . sent him repeated invitations to England; till at last he decided to let himself be won, at least in appearance, if only for the sake of gaining a footing in England which might enable him afterwards to work there in Matilda's favor"; in J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (London, 1892), 22, Malmesbury's account seemed to make Earl Robert appear in 1136 as "virtual head of the opposition"; a similar influence seems detectable in A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087-1216* (2d ed., Oxford, Eng., 1955), 134, where, in connection with Robert's submission in 1136, the Earl is called "the empress's natural champion."

¹⁴ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K. R. Potter (Edinburgh, 1955), 8, includes a statement implying Gloucester's early recognition as king by some, but the statement carries the qualification, "fama est." See also note 11, above.

¹⁵ *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe (2 vols., London, 1848-49), II, 97; *Gesta Stephani*, ed. Potter, 8-14; *Matthaei Parisiensis Monachi*

in coming to court resulted from hesitation in accepting Stephen. The evidence used in support of Robert's organization of a pro-Angevin party later in 1137-1138, moreover, really belongs to 1139 as Round showed.¹⁶

Malmesbury excused his patron's defiance of Stephen by appealing to secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The first involved Stephen's alleged violation of Robert of Gloucester's conditional homage; the second the command of the papacy to obey his oath to recognize Matilda's succession as well as the support of the Anglo-Norman church:

for immediately after Whitsuntide he sent representatives and abandoned friendship and faith in the traditional way, also renouncing homage, giving the reason that he did it justly because the king had both unlawfully claimed the throne and disregarded, not to say belied, all the faith he had sworn to him; and that he, after taking the oath to his sister, had not been ashamed to give his hands to another in her lifetime.¹⁷

To say that Stephen's injustice to the Earl of Gloucester released him from allegiance to the King is quite invalid if Robert never intended to keep faith with Stephen. Earl Robert may well have made demands upon Stephen when he came to court, but his homage that followed was no more "conditional" than every act of homage was.¹⁸ And if Malmesbury claimed that

Sancti Albani Chronica Majora, ed. Henry Richards Luard (7 vols., London, 1872-83), II, 164; Round, "The Easter Court of 1136," in *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 262-66.

¹⁶ For the text of Malmesbury's words, see note 13, above; for Earl Robert's alleged participation in a pro-Angevin plot, see *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs (2 vols., London, 1879-80), I, 105; Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. Thorpe, II, 107-11; Round, "The Defection of Miles of Gloucester," in *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 284-85; *Extrait de la continuation de Brut d'Angleterre de Wace, par un anonyme*, in *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, ed. Francisque Michel (3 vols., Rouen, 1836-40), I, 108, claims that Robert of Gloucester did not give his assent to Stephen's accession, but instead sent for Matilda to claim her inheritance; this conflicting evidence, however, dates from the thirteenth century. (See *Les sources de l'histoire de France, des origines aux guerres d'Italie* (1494), ed. Auguste Molinier [6 vols. in 3, Paris, 1901-1904], II, 222.) This rejection of Robert's leadership of a pro-Angevin plot in 1137-1138 thus cancels the theories of several historians whom Malmesbury's passage influenced. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, I, 324: "Accordingly when, early in A.D. 1138, the king of Scots again invaded the north, the party which Robert of Gloucester had been organising in the south and west of England threw off the mask and broke into rebellion"; H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins 1066-1272* (London, 1937), 158: "The head and front of the Angevin conspiracy was Robert Earl of Gloucester, who had broken his faith to Stephen as soon as it was pledged. . . . Whatever the motive, Robert remained in Normandy plotting with the Angevins from the spring of 1137 and his English adherents were tranquilly proceeding with the fortification of their castles . . ."; Christopher Brooke, *From Alfred to Henry III 871-1272* (Edinburgh, 1961), 168, describes "the rebellion . . . , headed by . . . Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and timed to coincide with an invasion by David, King of the Scots."

¹⁷ *HN*, ed. Potter, 23: "celeriter post Pentecosten, missis a Normannia suis regi more maiorum amicitiam et fidem interdixit, homagio etiam abdicato; rationem preferens quam id iuste faceret, quia et rex illicite ad regnum aspirauerat, et omnem fidem sibi iuratam neglexerat, ne dicam mentitus fuerat; ipsemet quin etiam contra legem egisset, qui, post sacramentum quod sorori dederat, alteri cuilibet ea uiuente se manus dare non erubisset."

¹⁸ For the text of the oath, see note 13, above; see also *Gesta Stephani*, ed. Potter, 8; Marc Bloch, *La société féodale* (Paris, 1949), 350-53; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard; II, 164, contains an interesting embellishment: "et comes R[obertus] sibi homagium sub conditione, scilicet, si dignitatem suam sibi servaret illibatam, secundum illud antiquum proverbium;

Robert's defiance of Stephen resulted from the King's violation of these "conditions" through land confiscations, the chronicler is guilty of misrepresenting the correct sequence of events: Stephen moved to confiscate the Earl's lands after receiving his *diffidatio*, not before:

And yet . . . he never showed the earl an entire friendship, always regarding his power with suspicion: and so, though in the earl's presence he addressed him in fair and pleasant fashion, behind his back he criticised him in spiteful terms and cavilled him out of what property he could. . . . However, the king, indignant at the earl's lofty spirit, deprived him of all the possessions in England that he could and levelled some of his castles. Only Bristol remained. . . .¹⁹

Neither does Malmesbury's great example of royalist treachery against his patron, the abortive plot to seize Gloucester after Easter in Normandy in 1137, seem to have constituted a serious violation of Stephen's promises. Even Malmesbury admits that Robert and Stephen were reconciled, a statement reinforced by charter evidence placing Robert at Stephen's Normandy court after the incident until the King's return to England at the end of 1137:

He swore, however, according to a formula approved by the earl, that he would never again take part in so great a crime, and the better to re-establish cordial relations he added weight to the oath by putting Hugh Archbishop of Rouen's hand into Robert's. And yet, though he acted thus, he never showed the earl an entire friendship. . . . Robert also, parrying craft by craft, let his face mask his purpose, and after seeing the king off with no sign of hostility on his return to his kingdom himself remained in Normandy and devoted himself to his own advantage.²⁰

'Quam diu habebis me pro senatore, et ego te pro imperatore'"; Malmesbury's emphasis on the contractual quality of Gloucester's vassalage led Round in *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 28, to blame Stephen for "the introduction for a time of this pernicious principle [i.e., that a breach of contract between royal lord and vassal committed by the king *ipso facto* justified the vassal's revolt] into England" as an element of anarchy; J. E. A. Jolliffe, *The Constitutional History of Medieval England, From the English Settlement to 1485* (London, 1937), 203, observed perhaps more accurately: "It is this element of contract and convention in between king and vassal which gives the reign its special interest and saves it from the character of anarchy."

¹⁹ *HN*, ed. Potter, 21: "set nunquam plenam ei exhibuit amicitiam, cuius semper suspectam habebat potentiam: itaque coram pulchre iocundeque comitem appellans, retro maledicis uerbis mordebat, et quibus poterat possessionibus uellicabat," recounted with events of 1137; *ibid.*, 23-24: "Ceterum, rex egre ferens comitis magnanimitatem, omnibus eum possessionibus in Anglia quibus poterat priuauit, et quedam eius castella complanauit. Solum Bristowia remansit . . .," recounted with events of 1138; Norgate, *England under the Angevins*, I, 294, used the last passage of Malmesbury to arrange the following chronology: "a few months after Stephen's return to England he was rash enough to order the confiscation of the earl's English and Welsh estates, and actually to raze some of his castles. The consequence was that soon after Whitsuntide Robert sent to the king a formal renunciation of his allegiance . . ."; see *Annales de Wintonia*, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard (5 vols., London, 1864-69), II, 51; *Annales de Waverleia*, *ibid.*, 226-27; *Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum*, ed. Thomas Arnold (London, 1879), 261; Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Prevost, V, 108, gives June as the date of Gloucester's *diffidatio*; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen . . .*, ed. Howlett, IV, 136, says "qui circa praeteritum Pascha concordiam cum eo fecerat"; in 1138, Easter came on April 3; this passage suggests that Gloucester's formal defiance of Stephen in June followed an earlier agreement between the Earl and Count Geoffrey; Potter's application of this passage in Robert of Torigni to 1137 (in *HN*, xx) is incorrect, as is revealed by the text in which the passage is found.

²⁰ *HN*, ed. Potter, 21-22: "Iurauit tamen uerbis pro placito comitis conceptis, se nunquam ulterius tanto sceleri affuturum; et ut magis in gratiam reciperetur, manu archiepiscopi Hugonis

If Robert's presence at court be claimed as a mere pose to cloak his real plans, as William of Malmesbury wrote, it is strange that the Earl did not surrender Caen to the Angevins when they attacked the city in May 1137. Robert was Caen's hereditary castellan, and when he decided to change allegiances, Caen went over to Geoffrey of Anjou.²¹

If Stephen really violated any condition, it probably pertained to Robert's status among the *familiares regis*. Here Malmesbury failed to give proper emphasis to a subject he only mentioned in passing:

Knights of all kinds made a rush to him, men who served in light harness also, especially from Flanders and Brittany. They were a class of men full of greed and violence. . . . and it was not only foreign knights that acted thus but likewise some born in England, who hated King Henry's peace because under it they had had but a scanty livelihood. All these had gladly given their support to a prince whom with little trouble they could influence to their own advantage. . . . Finally he also established many as earls who had not been earls before, with endowments of landed estates and revenues that had belonged directly to the king.²²

Actually very early in Stephen's reign a party led by Waleran of Meulan, including the Beaumont members of his family and Stephen's Flemish allies whose leader was William d'Ypres, became dominant among the *familiares regis*.²³ This would have constituted the diminution of Gloucester's status, which Stephen supposedly promised to avoid in 1136. Charter evidence indicates that during Henry I's reign Earl Robert had enjoyed greater favor among the *familiares regis* than Waleran of Meulan and his brother, Robert of Leicester.²⁴ Robert of Gloucester shared this favor with several associates,

Rothomagensis in manum Roberti missa, sacramentum solidavit. Et hec quidem egit ille; set nunquam plenam ei exhibuit amicitiam. . . . Robertus quoque, arte artem eludens, occultabat fronte animum; pacificeque regem in regnum redire dimittens, ipse commodis suis in Normannia manens intendit"; *Annales de Wintonia*, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, II, 50-51; for the charter evidence, see *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France, Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. J. H. Round (London, 1899), I, 918-1206, Nos. 570, 1379; see also Stephen's charter to Montebourg [from Bibl. Nat. MS Latin 10087] in *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. Ernest-Joseph Tardif (2 vols., Rouen and Paris, 1891-96), I, 116.

²¹ Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Prevost, V, 82-83, 108-109; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen . . .*, ed. Howlett, IV, 136.

²² HN, ed. Potter, 17-18: "Currebatur ad eum ab omnium generum militibus, et a levis armature hominibus, maximeque ex Flandria et Britannia. Erat genus hominum rapacissimum et uiolentissimum. . . . non solum aduene, set etiam indigene milites, qui pacem regis Henrici oderant, quod sub ea tenui uictu uitam transigebant. Hi omnes gratanter principi assenserant, quem leui negotio ad sua commoda inflectere possent, prouincialium dispendio suas fortunas urgentes . . . ; *ibid.*, 23: "Denique multos etiam comites, qui ante non fuerant, instituit, applicitis possessionibus et redditibus que proprio iure regi competeabant."

²³ Acton Griscom, "The Date of Composition of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*: New Manuscript Evidence," *Speculum*, I (Apr. 1926), 138-39; G. H. White, "King Stephen's Earldoms," *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, 4th Ser., XIII (1930), 51, and "The Career of Waleran, Count of Meulan and Earl of Worcester, 1104-1166," *ibid.*, XVII (1934), 27-30.

²⁴ This deduction is based upon the number of Henry I's charters, printed in the *Regesta Henrici Primi*, the parties in question actually attested, or the number of times scribes thought the parties in question should have been present and so included their names. The force of the argument is the same in either case; I have included only the number of times the individuals

among them, Brian fitz Count.²⁵ But under Stephen, the Beaumonts received land grants in the west and Midlands perhaps to check the power of Robert and his son-in-law, the Earl of Chester. In 1136, Waleran of Meulan not only received Worcester from Stephen, but also was betrothed to the King's infant daughter. Both the Beaumonts and Flemings used their roles as royal champions to increase their power in Normandy.²⁶

That Gloucester's rebellion against Stephen was as far as Robert was concerned a battle of his old fellow *familiares* against the new is suggested by the party Robert formed in England after his landing in 1139. Robert quickly gained the support of Brian fitz Count and Miles of Gloucester.²⁷ The three along with David of Scotland (regardless of their differences) formed the nucleus of the Angevin party with their castles of Bristol, Wallingford, and Gloucester.²⁸ The authority of these men is attested by the fact that when Matilda's party negotiated with the papal legate in 1141, they stood surety for the treaty's fulfillment.²⁹

A personal rivalry between Robert of Gloucester and Waleran of Meulan seems to have been at the heart of the general one. One of the earliest campaigns the Angevins waged in the west in 1139 was directed at Waleran's Worcester; royal retaliation was directed against Gloucester's wealthy manor at Tewkesbury.³⁰ Henry of Huntingdon's version of Earl Robert's alleged speech before the Battle of Lincoln shows the reputation this rivalry had among the Angevins, for in his speech Robert reserved his bitterest denunciation of his enemies for Waleran.³¹

Malmesbury altogether neglects to mention that his patron's decision to defy Stephen was influenced by offers of favors from the Angevins. Orderic

were recorded attesting as earls: Waleran of Meulan, twelve times; Robert of Leicester, twenty-four; Robert of Gloucester, seventy-six.

²⁵ Pipe Roll 31 Henry I: *Magnum Rotulum Scaccarii vel Magnum Rotulum Pipae de Anno Tricesimo-Primo Regni Henrici Primi*, ed. Joseph Hunter (London, 1833), 129-31.

²⁶ Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Prévost, V, 82-83, 108; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen . . .*, ed. Howlett, IV, 132; Geoffrey Baraclough, "The Earldom and County Palatine of Chester," *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, CIII (1951), 14-15; White, "Career of Waleran," 27-29.

²⁷ *Anecdota Oxoniensia: The Chronicle of John of Worcester 1118-1140*, ed. J. R. H. Weaver (Oxford, Eng., 1908), 56; *Annales de Wintonia*, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, II, 51; Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. Thorpe, II, 116-17; *Gesta Stephani*, ed. Potter, 14-16, 79; *HN*, ed. *id.*, 35; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen . . .*, ed. Howlett, IV, 137. Much needs to be done on the relations between Earl Robert and Miles of Gloucester in the Angevin party. Early differences between them have been indicated by R. H. C. Davis, "Treaty between William Earl of Gloucester and Roger Earl of Hereford," in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, ed. Patricia M. Barnes and G. F. Slade (London, 1962), 142.

²⁸ *Historia Johannis prioris Hagustaldensis ecclesiae XXV annorum*, in *Symeonis monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. Thomas Arnold (2 vols., London, 1882-85), II, 302.

²⁹ Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. Thorpe, II, 130; *Gesta Stephani*, ed. Potter, 79; *HN*, ed. *id.*, 50-51.

³⁰ Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. Thorpe, II, 124.

³¹ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Arnold, 269-70.

Vital notes that the Angevins offered Robert many castles in England, including Marlborough, in order to win him over.³² The St. Clair fee in Normandy and Brill in Oxfordshire are examples of fees Robert actually received after his change of allegiance.³³ It was this level of ambition represented by lands and castles that Robert's illegitimacy forced upon him. A contest for the crown with Stephen or Matilda was out of the question, in spite of his being Henry I's eldest son, for in Robert's day an atheling had to be a *filius a legale conjunge*.³⁴

The *Historia Novella* does not justify Earl Robert's defiance of Stephen by the King's broken faith alone. Malmesbury also invokes a bull of Innocent II commanding Robert to obey his oath to Matilda as well as the advice of certain undesigned churchmen:

He was indeed encouraged by the answers of many ecclesiastics whom he had consulted on the matter, to the effect that in no wise could he pass this present life without disgrace or win blessedness in the life to come if he neglected to keep the oath to his father's daughter. He also produced the terms of a bull from the Pope, bidding him obey the oath he had taken in his father's presence; I will take care to insert a page of this decree in a later book.³⁵

In spite of the fact that the bull is not extant and there is only Malmesbury's word that it ever existed, historians have never questioned it, not even Heinrich Böhmer who only lamented Malmesbury's failure to record the document.³⁶ Several of Innocent II's letters, four to Stephen and one to Peter the

³² *Chronicon Thomas Wykes*, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, IV, 22; Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Prevost, V, 108; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen . . .*, ed. Howlett, IV, 136.

³³ *The Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford*, ed. Spencer Robert Salter (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1895-96), II, No. 816; Lewis C. Loyd, *The Origin of Some Anglo-Norman Families* (Leeds, 1951), 88-89.

³⁴ See the redaction of the "Leges Edwardi Confessoris" made about the middle of the twelfth century: *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Felix Liebermann (3 vols., Halle, 1903-16), I, 662, III, 341.

³⁵ *HN*, ed. Potter, 23: "Animabant nimirum mentem eius multorum religiosorum responsa, quos super negotio consuluerat: nullo modo eum posse sine ignominia uitam presentem transigere, vel mereri beatitudinem future, si paterne necessitudinis sacramentum irritum haberet. Ad hec etiam apostolici decreti pre se tenorem ferebat, precipientis ut sacramento, quod presente patre fecerat, obediens esset; cuius decreti paginam posteriori libello indicare curabo."

³⁶ Böhmer simply referred to the document as "dies 'decretum,' das Malmsb. leider nicht, wie er beabsichtigte, in seinem zweiten Buche den Lesern wörtlich bietet. . . ." (Heinrich Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie im XI. und XII. Jahrhundert* [Leipzig, 1899], 335 n.) Böhmer's belief in both Innocent II's "decretum" to Robert of Gloucester as well as the Pope's "private" recognition of Stephen led this scholar to believe that Innocent was playing a double game for the purpose of introducing papal influence into England: "Man sieht daraus deutlich: er wollte es, zumal Pier Leone noch immer lebte, und ein Urteil über den Verlauf des Thronstreits schlechterdings noch nicht möglich war, wenn er auch Stephan begünstigte, öffentlich vorderhand noch mit keiner von beiden Parteien verderben und nicht durch eine voreilige Stellungnahme die glänzenden Aussichten gefährden, welche schon nach der Appellation der beiden Prätendenten an das päpstliche Gericht zu schliessen, gerade dieser Thronstreit den geistlichen und weltlichen Herrschaftsplänen der Kurie zu eröffnen schien." (*Ibid.*, 334-35.) Apparently under the influence of Böhmer, Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy, From the Conquest to the Reign of John* (Cambridge, Eng., 1931), 179, wrote: "The disputed election on Henry I's death, and its reference to the papal court, was for

Venerable of Cluny, indicating *de facto* recognition from 1135 to 1143 and Innocent's well-known refusal to judge between Stephen and Matilda *de jure*, however, would seem to contradict Malmesbury's claim.³⁷ In any case, this circumstantial evidence against the bull should generate enough caution to keep historians from claiming that Innocent II changed sides. It is well known, furthermore, that the Norman church generally recognized Stephen until Geoffrey of Anjou's conquest of Normandy was well along. In the case of the English church, it did not give any substantial support to Robert until Stephen arrested the bishops in 1139, a year after Robert's defiance.³⁸ At the worst, we can suspect Malmesbury of perpetrating a hoax with his claim of papal support; at best, his testimony must be without value as evidence in this case.

There is no doubt that Malmesbury was correct in calling his patron the recognized Angevin leader; many examples prove this. But the chronicler's fourth point, that Robert's leadership was unselfish, is untrue:

As he took the lead in the just defence of his sister's cause so he has always persisted in his undertaking with unconquerable spirit and without self-interest: I say "without self-interest" because a number of her adherents are either followers of fortune and change as it changes or, having already made great gains, fight for justice in the hope of yet richer rewards. Robert alone, or almost alone, inclining neither way, has never been influenced by hope of gain or fear of loss, as will be clear from what follows. So if I write these things honestly, let no suspicion of flattery creep into anyone's mind; for I shall make no concession to favor but the truth of history alone, without any colouring of falsehood, will be set forth for the knowledge of posterity.³⁹

the Papacy a satisfactory beginning of a new regime." Against this theory of the initiation of papal influence in England at this time, see Mary Cheney, "The Compromise of Avranches, 1172, and the Spread of Canon Law in England," *English Historical Review*, LVI (Apr. 1941), 188-95.

³⁷ *Bullarum, Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, ed. Seb. Franco et al. (27 vols., Turin, 1857-94), II, No. 76; *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A. W. Haddan and William Stubbs (3 vols. in 4, Oxford, Eng., 1869-78), II, Pt. I, 30; *Patrologia Cursus Completus*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *Series Latina* (222 vols., Paris, 1844-64), CLXXIX, 301-302, 533-34, 594-95; *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum Natum MCXCVIII*, ed. Philipp Jaffé et al. (2d ed., 2 vols., Leipzig, 1885-88), I, Nos. 7766, 7804, 8026, 8123, 8232; see also Reginald L. Poole, "The Empress Matilda's Claim to the English Throne," in *Ioannis Saresberiensis Historiae Pontificalis Quae Supersunt*, ed. id. (Oxford, Eng., 1927), 107-108.

³⁸ Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. Thorpe, II, 123; *Gesta Stephani*, ed. Potter, 48-53, 58-59; *HN*, ed. id., 25-27; Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Prévost, V, 108-109, 120; White, "Career of Waleran," 30.

³⁹ *HN*, ed. Potter, 64-65: "Ipse quippe sicut primus ad partes sororis sue iuste defendendas initium suscepit, ita semper inuicto animo in incepto gratis perseueravit: gratis dico, quia nonnulli fautorum eius uel fortunam sequentes cum eius uolubilitate mutantur, uel multa iam emolumenta consecuti, spe ampliorum premiorum pro iustitia pugnant. Solus uel pene solus Robertus in neutram partem pronior, nec spe compendii nec dispendii timore unquam flexus est, sicut ex consequentibus liquebit. Non ergo alicui, si hec integre scribo, adulationis surrepat suspicio; nichil enim a me dabitur gratie, set sola ueritas historie sine ullo fuco mendacii posterorum producet notitiam." This passage influenced Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, 148, where Robert of Gloucester is characterized as "the life and soul of his party, who,

We have already seen that evidence suggests that Robert's very reasons for joining the Angevins were personal. In addition, if the Earl's motivation for his participation in the war in England can be gauged by the number and nature of his known military engagements for the period 1139-1147, the following analysis is rather enlightening. Chroniclers associate Robert by name with approximately twenty-two military actions of varying importance which were limited to ten shires.⁴⁰ Those shires contained 68 per cent of the Earl's geldable demesne.⁴¹ Fourteen of these engagements took place in only three shires in which was concentrated 47 per cent of Robert's geldable demesne.⁴² In addition, aside from the immediate purpose of any mission to Winchester in a shire that contained only sixteen geldable hides of the Earl's demesne, Robert may have been interested in the town because he was one of

as William of Malmesbury justly says, 'alone or almost alone was never swayed from his loyalty by the hope of gain or the fear of loss.'

⁴⁰ The following list of military actions in which Earl Robert personally participated has been extracted from the narrative sources of the period; for the sake of brevity, citations of these sources have been omitted. No claim is made that this list represents all military engagements in which Robert participated; the list represents only the number of actions in which Robert's participation was so notable that chroniclers and annalists recorded them:

Year	Military Action	Shire
1139	Trowbridge	Wiltshire
1140	Harptree	Dorset
	Cerney	Dorset
	Sudeley	Gloucestershire
	Cornwall campaign	Cornwall
	Devizes	Wiltshire
	Bath	Somerset
	Nottingham	Nottinghamshire
1141	Lincoln	Lincolnshire
	London	Middlesex
	Winchester	Hampshire
1142	Warham	Dorset
	Portland Island	Dorset
	Lulworth	Dorset
1143	Warham	Dorset
	Wilton	Wiltshire
	Sherborne	Dorset
1144	Tetbury	Gloucestershire
	Malmesbury	Wiltshire
1145	Farringdon	Oxfordshire
1146	Gloucestershire defense	Gloucestershire
1147	Lidelea	Hampshire?

⁴¹ At this time, the honor of Gloucester included approximately 1564½ geldable hides in twenty-four shires; in this total, I have included eleventh-century tabulations for two shires (172 hides for Somerset and 38½ for Worcestershire) because the returns for the two shires in question are absent from the only extant Pipe Roll before the reign of Henry II; the two figures are probably not accurate, but have been included to make possible at least a rough estimate of the honor's total hidage. (*Domesday Book seu Liber Censualis Willelmi Primi Regis Angliae*, ed. Abraham Farley and Henry Ellis [4 vols., London, 1783-1816], I, 88, 88b, 89, 173, 176b, 178, 180b; *Pipe Roll 31 Henry I*, ed. Hunter, 5-6, 16, 23, 43, 47, 49, 51, 56, 62, 68, 80, 86, 95, 99, 102, 104, 108, 121, 126, 158-59.)

⁴² Engagements: Dorset, 7; Wiltshire, 4; Gloucestershire, 3; hidage: Dorset, 220; Wiltshire, 225; Gloucestershire, 306. (*Ibid.*, 16, 23, 80.)

its most extensive tenement holders.⁴³ In 1142 when the Earl returned from Normandy, although Matilda was besieged in Oxford by the King, Robert was apparently more concerned with capturing Portland and Lulworth than in coming to the rescue of the Empress.⁴⁴

Family interests also played an important part in Earl Robert's military activities. The very reason why Robert made his sole recorded appearance in Lincolnshire and participated in the great Battle of Lincoln in February 1141 was his daughter, Mabel. She was the wife of Ranulf of Chester who had seized Lincoln Castle and when later besieged by the King escaped to beg assistance from her father.⁴⁵ Similarly, Robert's one extensive campaign into Cornwall was due to the plight of his half brother, Reginald.⁴⁶ In 1145, Farringdon in Oxfordshire was fortified on the advice of his son, Philip. And much of the Earl's activity in Gloucestershire in 1145-1146, by an ironic twist, involved this same Philip who had by then rebelled against his father and joined the King.⁴⁷ Only Robert's raid against Nottingham in 1140 does not seem susceptible to explanation by land or family.⁴⁸

If the Earl of Gloucester did serve himself by serving his sister, however, his self-interest was not made of such naked pragmatism as that of a man like Geoffrey de Mandeville. Robert changed sides only once and never betrayed his sister as indeed he had never betrayed the King. The Earl loyally supported Matilda's campaign to Winchester, although not consulted about it, and sacrificed himself for his sister's safe escape. Robert, for all his self-interest, was valuable to the Angevins as the man who could control half of England and influence the baronage. Even Robert's personal successes and failures were so identified with those of the Angevins that when his fortunes waned in 1145-1146 so did the Angevins', and after the Earl's death in 1147 Matilda remained in England only a year before abandoning the fight.⁴⁹

⁴³ *Liber Winton*, in *Domesday Book*, ed. Farley and Ellis, IV, 531; *Pipe Roll 31 Henry I*, ed. Hunter, 41.

⁴⁴ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, tr. and ed. Dorothy Whitelock et al. (New Brunswick, N. J., 1961), a. 1140; *Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. Stubbs, I, 124; *Gesta Stephani*, ed. Potter, 92-93, 95-96; *HN*, ed. id., 73-76.

⁴⁵ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. id., 73; *HN*, ed. id., 47-48; John of Hexham, *Historia*, in *Symeonis monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. Arnold, II, 307; Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Prévost, V, 124-25; *Peterborough Chronicle*, tr. Harry A. Rositzke (New York, 1951), 162; H. A. Cronne, "Ranulf de Gernons, Earl of Chester 1123-1153," *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, 5th Ser., XX (1937), 109; R. H. C. Davis, "King Stephen and the Earl of Chester Revisited," *English Historical Review*, LXXV (Oct. 1960), 654-60.

⁴⁶ Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. Thorpe, II, 123-24; *Gesta Stephani*, ed. Potter, 68-69; *HN*, ed. id., 41-42.

⁴⁷ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. id., 119-20, 122-24.

⁴⁸ Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. Thorpe, II, 128-29; I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of Their Origin and Descent 1086-1327* (Oxford, Eng., 1960), 136. William Peverel was an ally of the Beaumonts.

⁴⁹ *Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. Stubbs, I, 133; *Gesta Stephani*, ed. Potter, 96-98, 120-24; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Arnold, 278; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen . . .*, ed. Howlett, IV, 150.

During Henry II's quarrel with Thomas Becket, the King appealed to Bishop Roger of Worcester for support by recalling the outstanding loyalty of Roger's father to the Angevin cause.⁵⁰ Roger's father was Earl Robert of Gloucester, and the ideal to which the King made reference was by then a myth that the eventual triumph of the Angevins had sanctioned. But the myth had originated from the Earl of Gloucester's patronage of William of Malmesbury in the *Historia Novella*.

The *Historia Novella* is an unreliable historical source for Stephen's reign because of the following charges proved against it. It omits important details regarding Robert of Gloucester's early support of the House of Blois. It fosters an impression of Earl Robert's attachment to Matilda that is unfounded. The *Historia Novella* falsely affirms Gloucester's insincerity in doing homage to Stephen and claims his organization of a pro-Angevin plot. Besides exaggerating the conditional nature of Robert's homage, it fails to indicate the Earl's real motivation for changing his allegiance. Among the reasons the *Historia* offered, the claim of Innocent II's command is either a hoax or at least an unsupported assertion. Finally, the *Historia* presents a false view of Robert of Gloucester's leadership that fails to indicate his selfish ambition.⁵¹

William of Malmesbury must be held responsible for these examples of gross distortion which should deprive him of the title of historian in so far as the *Historia Novella* is concerned. The work smacks of a conscious effort to deceive for there is too much evidence of care in presentation, omission, and exaggeration for the effect to be haphazard. The Earl of Gloucester's patronage and also perhaps William's devotion to Robert seem to have proved too great strains on the chronicler's veracity. This patronage may have eventually resulted in the exemption of St. Aldhelm's monks by Robert's heir, William, from tolls on food and clothing purchased at Bristol, the *caput* of the honor of Gloucester.⁵²

A new Earl of Gloucester emerges from this re-evaluation of the *Historia Novella*. It is a *familiaris regis* who along with his fellows reaffirmed the traditional Norman alliance with the House of Blois against the House of Anjou by recognizing first Theobald's and then Stephen's succession instead of Matilda's. Gradually Earl Robert realized that the new King's policy of favoritism to the Beaumonts jeopardized his status as premier *familiaris*.

⁵⁰ *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J. C. Robertson (7 vols., London, 1875-85), II, 104-105.

⁵¹ *HN*, ed. Potter, 64-65.

⁵² *Registrum Malmesburiense*, ed. Brewer and Martin, I, 431-32; Earl William made a similar grant to St. Mary's Worcester. (*Registrum sive liber irrotularius et consuetudinarius prioratus beatae Mariae Wigorniensis*, ed. William Hale [London, 1865], 30b-31a.)

The Angevins bid for his support by the kind of offers of lands and castles that appealed to his ambitions. Then in late spring in 1138, using perfectly acceptable feudal ethics, Robert changed allegiances. From then until his death in 1147 Earl Robert protected and enhanced his status through Angevin service. In order to appeal to the future as well as to the present, the Earl commissioned William of Malmesbury to write an apologia. Robert, no longer the straw man Malmesbury made him, remains not the great devotee to the sacredness of oaths, but becomes the protagonist of a cause who saw in its service the fulfillment of his ambitions. Stephen, on the other hand, remains neither the usurper nor the violator of coronation promises, but becomes the man who paid the price for a political mistake early in his reign by alienating one faction of *familiares* by promoting another.

The Revolutionary Character of the American Revolution

WILLIAM H. NELSON*

FOR so great an event, the American Revolution is downright elusive. Nothing seems certain about it: what it was about, how and why it happened, when or perhaps even whether it happened.¹ Lest one suppose this inconclusiveness to result merely from the confusion of historians, consider these two familiar quotations from such clear-headed men of the Revolution as John Adams and Benjamin Rush: "The Revolution," Adams wrote Thomas Jefferson, "was in the Minds of the People, and this was effected, from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen Years before a drop of blood was drawn at Lexington."² "The American war is over," Rush wrote in 1787, "but this is far from being the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed."³

One can, of course, by putting these statements in context, easily see that their authors were not in disagreement, but were only considering different features of the Revolution. Looking back on it long afterward, Adams found the heart of the Revolution in the alienation of American feeling toward Britain and the British connection. Rush, on the other hand, was concerned with the necessity for a new national government, a need shortly to be met by the adoption of the Constitution, and, further, with the need to educate a republican citizenry: "It remains," he continued, "yet to establish and perfect our new forms of government; and to prepare the principles, morals, and manners of our citizens, for these forms of government."⁴ Leaving aside, for the moment, some further implications of both Adams' and Rush's words, it is enough here to note, not that they differed about the Revolution, for their views were complementary, but that they could so easily and so

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¹ Note the subheading under which Robert R. Palmer discusses this question: "The Revolution: Was There Any?" in *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800* (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1959, 1964), I, 185.

² *The Adams-Jefferson Letters*, ed. Lester J. Cappon (2 vols., Chapel Hill, N. C., 1959), II, 455; see also Adams' letter to Hezekiah Niles in *The Selected Writings of John and John Quincy Adams*, ed. Adrienne Koch and William Peden (New York, 1946), 203-204.

³ Hezekiah Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America* . . . (Baltimore, 1822), 402.

⁴ *Ibid.*

early use the *term* "American Revolution" to cover so wide a span of time and purpose.

During the course of the nineteenth century, it is true, one interpretation of the Revolution came to be widely accepted in the United States. (One wonders whether it does not still lie, barely below the surface, in most American minds.) This is the interpretation usually associated with George Bancroft's great national history, though for much of the nineteenth century it was a view shared by most Americans and, indeed, by English Whigs as well (George Otto Trevelyan made a respectable contribution to it). In its simplest form this interpretation found the main issue of the Revolution in American independence from Great Britain—independence made necessary by the tyranny of George III, his ministers, and Parliament, and made glorious by the steadfast zeal for liberty of General Washington and the Continental Congress. In this view the Constitution was the natural and proper sequel to the Revolution; its adoption was simply the establishment of American independence on a rational republican foundation.

As has often been shown, it was around the turn of this century, with the end of American isolation and innocence, that this established and complacent view of the Revolution was overthrown by a number of young historians whose work was to dominate scholarship in the field until after the Second World War. These historians seem now generally to be put into two or three groups: There was the imperial school, whose members did so much to free American colonial history from parochialism by regarding it as part of the history of the whole British Empire. These men, among others, Charles M. Andrews, Herbert L. Osgood, George Louis Beer, Robert L. Schuyler, and Lawrence H. Gipson, produced a splendid monument to American scholarship and an impressive body of British imperial and American colonial history. But they seemed (Andrews perhaps less than the others) deliberately to avoid dealing with the central questions of American history in their period, that is, with the development of autonomous American institutions in a society that was not wholly colonial. Inevitably, of course, from the imperial historians' point of view, the Revolution had to be seen primarily as a failure of British policy, as a breakdown of the old Empire, and not as the means by which an American republic established itself.

There was always an academic and Anglo-American air about the imperial historians; their great contemporary, Charles Beard, on the other hand, seems purely American and has an air of the market place about him. Beard and those of his contemporaries who approached eighteenth-century America in a similar spirit, among them, John Franklin Jameson, Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., and Vernon L. Parrington, had, in one sense, the same con-

cern as the imperial historians: to emancipate American history from its former insularity and smugness. But for these scholars the means of emancipation lay in plunging into the turbulent sea of economic determinants and class conflict. For Beard, the struggle to ratify the Constitution became a clear example of class struggle, the Constitution itself the embodiment of counterrevolution. And the Declaration of Independence—which to its author and his contemporaries was simply that—became for Beard a manifesto to American democrats and populists of his own day.

Whether Carl Becker should be regarded as a member of the Jameson-Beard group or not is open to question.⁵ His own way of bringing American history into step with the great events of eighteenth-century Europe was not only to use the concept of class struggle, but to apply the standards of the Enlightenment, and even the dynamics of the French Revolution, to the American Revolution. A generation ago this attempt seemed exciting; now, increasingly, like much of Beard's work, it seems just unhistorical. Indeed, it is really rather sad that the great effort, not only of Becker and Beard but of nearly a whole generation of gifted historians, to bring American history into the mainstream of Western history now seems labored and contrived. As a recent critic has rather cruelly put it, it is as if these historians "felt they must at least repeat in ink and print what in other countries had been written with blood."⁶

Within recent years the outlines of a new interpretation of the Revolution have begun to appear. In some respects, as has been frequently observed, the new view of the Revolution much more nearly resembles Bancroft's than it does Beard's or Becker's. It is nationalist and particularist; it emphasizes the unique character, not only of the Revolution, but of American political and social life before and after it. The main issue of the Revolution has become once again, not, in Becker's phrase, "who should rule at home," but "home rule"—independence from Britain. The character of the Revolution appears again, not exactly as Bancroft saw it, but in a rather more subdued light as the sober affirmation of their rights by a mature and rational people. And the Constitution has become once again the logical fulfillment and necessary completion of the Revolution.⁷

⁵ Daniel J. Boorstin makes a distinction between Becker's and Beard's interpretations of the Revolution; he points out that Becker's primary concern was to place the ideas of the American Revolution within a larger structure of revolutionary theory, while Beard's main interest was the role of the Revolution in the development of world capitalism. (Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Genius of American Politics* [Chicago, 1953], 80.)

⁶ Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York, 1963), 95.

⁷ Some of those working in this period who, while disagreeing with each other on many points, would probably subscribe to a substantial part of the new nationalist interpretation of the Revolution, for which they, collectively, are mainly responsible, are Bernard Bailyn, Daniel J. Boorstin, Robert E. Brown, Louis Hartz, Cecelia Kenyon, Forrest McDonald, Edmund S.

No doubt the tendency to view the Revolution in such terms is a part of the more general effort of historians these days to trace a conservative "consensus" through American history. At the same time, there are within the new view of the Revolution a considerable diversity of points of view and some sharply varying emphases. In its scholarship, the new historiography of the revolutionary period is more precise than that of earlier generations, but much more limited in scope; it has still more an appearance of criticism and correction than of new assertion. Its strength, however, is in its having freed the study of the period from the doctrinaire assumptions of Beard's and Becker's generation. As far as it has emerged, the new view seems sensible, and, were it not for one or two considerations, one might assume we were on the way to understanding the Revolution.

A trace of unease arises, however, simply from recalling the habit that successive generations have had of viewing the Revolution in terms of their own needs and concerns. If, a generation ago, the social consequences of the American Revolution could be seriously discussed in terms that now obviously are far more appropriate to the French or Russian Revolutions, how are we to be certain that, a generation hence, our own insistence on the continuity and conservatism of the revolutionary period may not seem equally perverse? If Beard could mistake a founding father for an early twentieth-century capitalist, how can we be certain not to confuse General Washington with General Eisenhower? Living ourselves in an age of pitiless change, may we not have developed an excessive yearning for historic continuities? And, preoccupied as we are with defending our institutions, may we not mistake ancestral attackers for defenders too? One recent student of the Revolution concludes that the "goal of the rebellious colonists was simply to consolidate, then expand by cautious stages, the large measure of liberty and prosperity that was already part of their way of life." He then goes on to observe that "our goal seems to be exactly the same."⁸ Might not this happy coincidence be less cause for comfort than for suspicion?

Another, and perhaps more serious, though even less tangible source of

Morgan, and Clinton Rossiter. There are, to be sure, some dissenters: Merrill Jensen, while critical of much of the point of view of Beard and Becker, shares their interest in class conflict in the Revolution; Lawrence H. Gipson has continued to carry on masterfully in the tradition of the imperial school; Robert R. Palmer sees the Revolution as only one aspect of a revolutionary transformation of the European world. Useful surveys of recent work on the Revolution may be found in Richard B. Morris, "Class Struggle and the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIX (Jan. 1962), 3-29; Peter Marshall, "Radicals, Conservatives, and the American Revolution," *Past and Present*, XXIII (Nov. 1962), 44-56; and Wesley Frank Craven, "The Revolutionary Era," in *The Reconstruction of American History*, ed. John Higham (New York, 1962), 46-63. Edmund S. Morgan made one of the first attempts to suggest a new approach to the study of the Revolution in his article, "The American Revolution: Revisions in Need of Revising," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV (Jan. 1957), 3-15.

⁸ Clinton Rossiter, "The Shaping of the American Tradition," *ibid.*, XI (Oct. 1954), 533.

doubt about the Revolution as it is now regarded is that it is all, somehow, much too cold blooded and rational, even for an Age of Reason. Beard may have been wrong about *class* struggle in America, but he was right about *struggle*, about conflict as a fact in human society. The preachers of consensus have now nearly eliminated conflict from the revolutionary period (except, of course, for the almost irrelevant antipolice action against Britain). The Revolution has become "a prudential decision taken by men of principle";⁹ "a revolution to preserve a social order rather than to change it";¹⁰ an "orderly transference of allegiance from one set of magistrates to a slightly different set."¹¹

One must face the possibility that this may all be true, that eighteenth-century Americans were really so judicious, so self-righteous, so inhumanly cool and deliberate. After all, Hannah Arendt, with a warm European despair, has written that the American was "the only revolution in which compassion played no role in the motivation of the actors."¹² One can have passion, however, even without compassion. And it is difficult to believe that the first of the great modern revolutions was so much like a Grant Wood painting or a scene from Thornton Wilder's *Our Town*. Its victims did not regard it so, if their testimony has any value: "The rage of civil discord," wrote the gentle Crèvecoeur, "hath advanced among us with an astonishing rapidity. Every opinion is changed; . . . the son is armed against the father, the brother against the brother, family against family."¹³ And that stalwart Tory, Jonathan Sewell, wrote: "Every thing I see is laughable, cursable, and damnable; my pew in the church is converted into a pork tub; my house into a den of rebels, thieves & lice; my farm in possession of the very worst of all God's creation; my few debts all gone to the devil with my debtors. . . . All this is *right*, says Doctor Pangloss, & this is the best of all possible worlds."¹⁴

In reading much of the current literature on the Revolution, one has sometimes the feeling that there is nothing missing from it except the Revolution itself. American society before, during, and after the Revolution has

⁹ Boorstin, *Genius of American Politics*, 95.

¹⁰ Robert E. Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1955), 401.

¹¹ Richard Buel, Jr., "Democracy and the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXI (Apr. 1964), 180. On the other hand, some recent writers on the Revolution, while regarding it as a nationalist movement, have, nevertheless, affirmed its revolutionary nature: Cecelia Kenyon and Bernard Bailyn, for example.

¹² Arendt, *On Revolution*, 65.

¹³ M. G. J. (Hector St. John) de Crèvecoeur, *Sketches of Eighteenth Century America*, ed. Henri L. Bourdin *et al.* (New Haven, Conn., 1925), 178-79.

¹⁴ "Letters of Jonathan Sewell," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2d Ser., X (Jan. 1896), 414.

become so marvelously "seamless."¹⁵ It is quite true, of course, that it is no longer possible to regard with much awe some of the social and institutional changes of the revolutionary period, which, a generation ago, were taken seriously. They now seem to have been slight in effect, like the abolition of entail and primogeniture, or not clearly a part of the Revolution, like many of the changes in property holding of the time.¹⁶ Even those political changes that must be regarded as revolutionary—the separation from Britain and the establishment of a republican form of government under written constitutions, federal and state—involved no complete break with the past. Indeed, American historians have, in general, not yet sufficiently acknowledged the debt of the new United States to colonial and British institutions and practices. Not only was the political theory underlying both the Revolution and the Constitution mainly English, but most of the new republican institutions of the United States were, in various ways, derived from British and colonial precedent.

This is obvious in the case, for example, of the two houses of Congress; it is less obvious but no less certain in the concept of executive power to be found in the presidency—a concept surely derived not only from the remembered role of the royal governors but also from that Whig idea of the proper powers of the king embodied in the settlement of 1688.¹⁷ Even the new federal relationship among the states was familiar, in a rough way, from the virtually federal relationship that had prevailed among the colonies and between them and the imperial government in an earlier time.

To admit, or even to emphasize, such continuities as these does not, however, in any way diminish the importance and intensity of the Revolution as an American experience. Even if it were to be shown, beyond doubt, that there were no measurable institutional changes as a result of the Revolution, its significance would remain. Allowing for the fact that not much really is known about revolutions, about their origin, course, or effects, it still seems that the subject of revolution is often approached in an oddly mechanical way. If a man has a moving or harrowing experience, an experience of terror, anger, or exultation, from which he emerges without visible physical effect, his pulse beat and blood pressure restored to what they had been before his experience, it does not therefore follow that his experience

¹⁵ See Boorstin, *Genius of American Politics*, esp. Chap. 1.

¹⁶ Richard B. Morris has observed that all the legal, educational, and religious reforms of the revolutionary period cannot be automatically ascribed to the Revolution; if they are, he suggests, then Woodrow Wilson could be charged with going to war in order to emancipate women. (Morris, "Class Struggle and the American Revolution," 26.)

¹⁷ See Andrew C. McLaughlin, *The Foundations of American Constitutionalism* (New York, 1932).

was mild, slight, or without consequence. Societies, too, can experience traumata that leave no visible scar.

The change in sentiment that John Adams wrote about, the "Revolution . . . in the Minds of the People," may have taken, as Adams thought it did, fifteen years before 1775 to become articulate. It was, no doubt, a change made possible by 150 years of American experience resting on traditions of English dissent. But in its consciousness, in its self-realization, this revolution was sudden. "It is no Little Blessing of God," Cotton Mather had observed in 1700, "that we are a part of the *English Nation*."¹⁸ Sixty years later Jonathan Mayhew, who in a few more years would become a most embittered Anglophobe, could still write: "We Britishers are still farther distinguished and favoured of God. . . ."¹⁹ Even in the summer of 1775, after the War of Independence had begun, Joseph Hewes of North Carolina could write: "We are loyal subjects to our present most gracious Sovereign."²⁰ Yet within a few months John Adams would write that he "mortally hated the Words 'Province' 'Colonies' and Mother Country."²¹ And within a few more months both Adams and Hewes would sign the Declaration of Independence.²² "For *God's* sake let there be a full Revolution," Joseph Hawley of Massachusetts wrote in the spring of 1776; ". . . Independency, and a well planned Continental Government, will save us."²³

The quotations from Adams and from Rush at the beginning of this paper agreed on one point: the war had not much to do with the Revolution. Except for writers on the war itself, most recent historians of the Revolution seem to have taken the same view. Yet the war was a memorable American experience, an experience of danger and defeat, of all the acrid and bitter feelings raised by rebellion and civil conflict, of final and absolute victory. It was the war that made the British enemies rather than mere antagonists; it was the war that cut the Tories out of American society and set up a new sovereignty; it was the war that compelled Americans to regard themselves and to deal with foreigners as a new people, as Americans rather than as British colonials. It was during the course of the war that the "ancient rights

¹⁸ Quoted in Clinton Rossiter, *Seedtime of the Republic: The Origin of the American Tradition of Political Liberty* (New York, 1953), 6.

¹⁹ Quoted in Max Savelle, "Nationalism and Other Loyalties in the American Revolution," *American Historical Review*, LXVII (July 1962), 903.

²⁰ *American Archives: Consisting of a Collection of Authentick Records, State Papers, Debates and Letters . . .*, ed. Peter Force (9 vols., Washington, D. C., 1837-53), 4th Ser., II, 1757.

²¹ *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, ed. L. H. Butterfield (4 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1961), III, 357.

²² Hewes, it is true, supported the Declaration somewhat reluctantly. (See *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, ed. Edmund C. Burnett [8 vols., Washington, D. C., 1921-36], I, 537.)

²³ *American Archives*, ed. Force, 4th Ser., V, 1169.

of Englishmen" gave birth finally to the "rights of men" and to that "Novus Ordo Seclorum" that, for a time, caught the imagination of Europe. Perhaps there were more subtle and fundamental changes in American life during the war; a student of colonial religion has written of Massachusetts that, "During the fighting years a shift of center had been taking place in the common life, and by 1780 it had come to pass. The state, not the church, was now in sharp focus."²⁴ Whatever the role of the war in the fulfillment of the Revolution, it is worth noting that, a generation later, when Americans felt a desperate need to restore their self-esteem, to redeem their national honor, and to reaffirm the Revolution, they chose as their means of redemption a war with Britain.

If the Revolution was no more than "a prudential decision taken by men of principle," a revolution "to preserve a social order rather than to change it," one would not expect it to have dramatic consequences. If, on the other hand, it was a real revolution, with its own secret life, its own law, its autonomous power to change men's minds and turn their will, then one would expect it to leave a mark on the world and on generations to come. Here, however, in searching for the effects of the Revolution, we must be careful to distinguish consequence from sequence. By stretching causality, not beyond the limits of reason, but beyond the bounds of common sense, most of what has happened in the world since 1780 may be seen to be in consequence of the American Revolution: the Russian Revolution, to take one example, by direct descent through the French Revolution. To judge the significance of the American Revolution in such grand, vague, all-encompassing terms as these would be, however, to indulge in that elastic logic which allowed one of the great American historians of our time to justify the lawless greed of the robber barons of American industry in the nineteenth century by the capacity of the United States to defeat Hitler and oppose Communism in the twentieth century.

There is, to be sure, one area of grand concern and vast significance in relation to which the American Revolution stands in some sort of relevant proximity: the historic complex out of which have come democracy and freedom as we now know them in the Western world. Even if the American revolutionists did not fight for democracy, they contributed to its coming simply because their individualistic concepts of government by consent and

²⁴ Ola E. Winslow, *Meetinghouse Hill, 1630-1783* (New York, 1952), 296. Savelle has emphasized the role of the war as a catalyst for American nationalism. (Savelle, "Nationalism and Other Loyalties," 918.) John Alden maintains that "The military triumph of the patriots and their allies led not only to independence but also to the firm establishment of republican government in the United States." (John Alden, *The American Revolution, 1775-1783* [New York, 1954], 265; see also Don Higginbotham, "American Historians and the Military History of the American Revolution," *American Historical Review*, LXX [Oct. 1964], 18-34.)

republican equality led irresistibly in a democratic direction. Similarly, while their revolt against Britain had, inherently, not a great deal in common with those scores of colonial revolts to follow, it became a beacon for them. It was not long after the Declaration of Independence before natives in the Comoro Islands would revolt against their Arab masters, saying, "America is free. Could not we be?"²⁵ However irrelevant some Americans may find this proposition, it is still, after two hundred years, a powerful and corrosive solvent of inequalities in the world.

Not least among the delicate imponderables that cluster around the American Revolution is its influence on Europe and, most directly, on the French Revolution. It is certain that enlightened men in Europe saw the American Revolution as representing the principles of the Enlightenment itself applied to a living society. It is certain also that in France in the 1780's if not elsewhere, the American Revolution was closely studied. Alas, it is even more certain that "America was a screen on which Europe projected its own visions,"²⁶ and that America, as Europeans saw it, sometimes achieved, as it still does on occasion, wonderful unreality. Consider, for example, the Arcadian imaginings of that Frenchman who reported that a constitutional convention in Virginia had assembled, for the serenity of its deliberations, "in a peaceful wood, removed from the sight of the people, in an enclosure prepared by nature with banks of grass."²⁷

For their part, the men of the Revolution had an ambivalent attitude toward Europe: they were both anxiously concerned for the good opinion of foreigners, and ultimately pessimistic about their regeneration. They never doubted that their revolution should stand as a model and example to the world, and they took measurable pride in the spread of its principles. In his old age, Jefferson wrote Adams with satisfaction that "the flames kindled on the 4th. of July 1776. have spread over too much of the globe to be extinguished by the feeble engines of despotism."²⁸ But Jefferson would surely also have agreed with Gouverneur Morris when, early in the French Revolution, he wrote contemptuously of the French that, "They want an American constitution without realizing they have no Americans to uphold it."²⁹

²⁵ Quoted in Palmer, *Age of the Democratic Revolution*, I, 258.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 253.

²⁷ Quoted *ibid.*, 254. For an account of the influence of the American Revolution on the French, see, in addition to Palmer, Louis Gottschalk, "The Place of the American Revolution in the Causal Pattern of the French Revolution," in *Publications of the American Friends of Lafayette* (No. 2, 1948), reprinted in *The Making of Modern Europe*, ed. Herman Ausubel (2 vols., New York, 1951), I, 494-510.

²⁸ *Adams-Jefferson Letters*, ed. Cappon, II, 575.

²⁹ Quoted in Louis Hartz, "American Political Thought and the American Revolution," *American Political Science Review*, XLVI (June 1952), 323. Hartz comments here on the comparative indifference of Americans to Europe's enthusiasm for the Revolution.

And Jefferson made no argument when Adams wrote him that "The Europeans are all deeply tainted with prejudices both Ecclesiastical, and Temporal which they can never get rid of."³⁰

In considering the shimmering distortions in Europe's view of America and America's view of Europe, it almost seems as if they saw each other, not across, but through the sea. The difficulty of separating what is real from what is unreal in the apparent interactions of Europe and America is formidable under the most favorable conditions. In the case of the American and French Revolutions, their very closeness in time, in spirit, in details of nomenclature and organization makes such an untangling nearly impossible. They stand in a fraternal relationship, though presumably it is of some significance that the American Revolution came first. The real paradox of the American Revolution is that what is least universal and least European about it—its impact on American society and American institutions—is hardly more tangible than its influence on the world.

At first sight, there seems to be a good argument for the current view that the consequences of the Revolution for America, ultimate as well as immediate, had a "conservative" character.³¹ An appearance of conservatism arises partly from the Revolution's comparative mildness as a social upheaval,³² but perhaps even more from the successful embodiment of its main achievement in the Constitution: the establishment of an independent and stable American republic. Since the Constitution can no longer be regarded as a counterrevolution, but has, nevertheless, proved extremely resistant to radical change, it necessarily casts back on the Revolution itself a soft and mellow light of rational finality.

Underlying its "conservatism" is the obvious fact that the Revolution did not have to do, or have to try to do, in America all that the subsequent revolutions of the Old World had to attempt; that confining and elaborate system of legal inequalities and privileges in the old corporate society of Europe did not exist in America except in the most sketchy and rudimentary

³⁰ *Adams-Jefferson Letters*, ed. Cappon, II, 607.

³¹ The best discussion of the confusing political terminology used to discuss the Revolution, as well as a powerful argument for its radical nature, may be found in Cecelia M. Kenyon's article, "Republicanism and Radicalism in the American Revolution: An Old-Fashioned Interpretation," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIX (Apr. 1962), 153-82.

³² Palmer (*Age of the Democratic Revolution*, I, 188-90) states that there were some sixty thousand American loyalist *émigrés*, representing a rate nearly five times that of the French Revolution; from this he concludes that the American Revolution was a greater social upheaval than is usually thought. The difficulty here, of course, is not only that it is hard sometimes to tell the difference between genuine and spurious loyalist refugees, but also that it was comparatively easy for the loyalists, by moving to one of the remaining provinces of British North America, to remain in an English-speaking, North American environment under the old flag; French dissenters from the French Revolution had no such option, and so the relative rates of emigration are not really comparable. (See my *The American Tory* [Oxford, Eng., 1961].)

form and did not, therefore, have to be dismantled.³³ Even monarchy was much more nominal than real in America. John Adams may have been arguing too literally when he wrote with customary impatience: "Kings We never had among Us, Nobles We never had. Nothing hereditary ever existed in the Country: Nor will the Country require or admit of any such Thing."³⁴ But the substance of his claim is clearly true.

The character of the Revolution as a confirmation of existing American social and political realities can easily tempt one to conclude that, so far at least as America itself is concerned, what is most important about the Revolution is what preceded rather than what followed it.³⁵ How did America come to be a place where the assertions of the Revolution could be so convincingly and finally stated? To pursue this line of inquiry is undoubtedly a worth-while enterprise, but to deny radical consequences to the Revolution because what it asserted rose naturally out of its society is to judge historic process too much in terms of origins. As it was produced, so did the Revolution produce. Like any historic event taken roughly out of a continuum for examination, the Revolution may be regarded as effect or cause, as an end or a beginning. Regarded as a beginning, what did the Revolution produce in America?

Here it is important to observe the sharply two-sided nature of the Revolution: it was both affirmation and denial, and its positive and negative qualities were indissolubly bound to each other. To consider, as American historians have often done, the positive consequences of the Revolution without observing also its negative effects is to overlook a process of primary importance in American history. For the founding of the United States rested on the repudiation of a political connection with Britain and of an old British-American heritage. More abstractly, America's new republican institutions rested on a repudiation of monarchy and of that organic and familial social order for which monarchy stood. From the day of its birth, the United States has been accustomed to linking a silent "no" to an audible "yes" when approaching any fundamental question of political theory. May not this necessity, arising from the nature of the break with Britain, have

³³ See Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York, 1955); support for the prerevolutionary liberalism of Massachusetts and Virginia society may be found in Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy*, and in *id.* and B. Katherine Brown, *Virginia, 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy?* (East Lansing, Mich., 1964).

³⁴ *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, ed. Butterfield, III, 356.

³⁵ Perhaps the most unequivocal definition of the Revolution as such a confirmation is Bailyn's: "This completion, this rationalization, this symbolization, this lifting into consciousness and endowing with high moral purpose inchoate, confused elements of social and political change—this was the American Revolution." (Bernard Bailyn, "Political Experience and Enlightenment Ideas in Eighteenth-Century America," *American Historical Review*, LXVII [Jan. 1962], 351.)

contributed significantly to the American habit, so often deplored abroad, of seeing political issues in black and white, as "pairs of opposites"? May it not also have given a narrow and doctrinaire cast to American political thought when it touched upon such matters as monarchy and the status of colonies, or perhaps even on the more basic question of the claims of state authority over the individual?³⁶

Even the modest institutional changes of the Revolution have a certain symbolic importance that is usually overlooked. Thus, to consider in a different light Jameson's discredited little list of social consequences of the Revolution: the laws concerning entail and primogeniture may have been easily and habitually evaded, but their very existence was a reminder of a concept of landownership that was not absolute and not individualistic—that would soon seem "un-American." Similarly such feeble enclaves of legal privilege as the Penn family's exemption from taxes, or such faint traces of official aristocracy as were to be found in the old Governors' Councils carried little weight in themselves, but, in a society so uniform, so level, so "equal," they were reminders—some American Tories thought them useful reminders—of the more complicated and various society of Europe. The rickety establishment of the Church of England in the South and in lower New York was also a reminder, distasteful but perhaps educative, of an organic view of society alien to what was already becoming the secular orthodoxy of America. And while the expulsion of the loyalists did not deprive the new United States of social pretense, of oligarchy, or of gentility real or false, it did deprive America of a point of view, of a set of political convictions, from which, in the next century, most of the conservative as well as a part of the socialist thought of Europe was to be derived.³⁷

The loss of a whole body of imperial regulation and of the rather ramshackle machinery of British administration that had enforced it—royal governors, vice-admiralty courts, customs officers, Indian agents, and all—may have been easily enough made up by the creation of a new administration more efficient in most respects than the old. George III himself, in a practical way, may have been more than adequately replaced by George Washington. But independence did firmly close the gates to one avenue of previously conceivable American development: Whatever experiments, fruit-

³⁶ Cecelia Kenyon has ascribed "an element of rigidity in American political thinking" to the attachment Americans developed for republican institutions as a result of the Revolution; she also thinks the "ideological habit" thus acquired has been extended to more recent, rigid doctrinal positions in regard, for example, to socialism, imperialism, and colonialism. (Kenyon, "Republicanism and Radicalism in the American Revolution," 167.)

³⁷ Nelson, *American Tory*, 170-90; see also Bailyn, "Political Experience and Enlightenment Ideas," 348-50.

ful or not, America and Britain might have made with the frail threads of their political connection were no longer possible after 1783. Whatever traditions of unbroken continuity with its European past America might have wanted to cultivate were, after the Revolution, no longer available. Whatever reservations America might have wanted to hold about its own dominant tendencies were disallowed. Jonathan Boucher liked to complain about the Enlightenment's lack of "caution and reverence" in dealing with the mysteries of social organization, and claimed, in his Tory fashion, that man had ultimately to "*live by faith and not by sight*."³⁸ After 1783 Americans would have to live by sight, or pretend to do so.

It should be clear that America suffered some real loss by the violence, abruptness, and, in a political sense, completeness of the break with Britain. Precisely because Americans did not in 1783 cease to be historically English, to speak English, to live by what had once been English law and English political theories, to follow English practices in local government and English habits of political compromise, precisely for these reasons, the severance of close political ties with Britain represented, in certain respects, an impoverishment for America. For America, in developing, reaffirming, and extending its independence, generation by generation, has increasingly widened the gulf across which political conversation with Britain must be held. And England, it should be remembered, though it too may have suffered some impoverishment by the severance of bonds with America, did not cease to be a vital and rich society, in its capacity for self-examination and change often more radical, more profound, more various than America. Indeed, Britain in 1783 was on the very eve of an age of political change far more comprehensive and intense than anything the American Revolution contemplated.

Beyond the institutional and ideological deprivation that the break with Britain represented for America lie the psychological consequences, as yet largely unexamined, of this estrangement. Is it not tempting to detect in the stridency of American self-justification for the Revolution a trace of guilt? May there not be a hint of longing for things lost, however inconsiderable, in the very ferocity of that Anglophobia which used to form so regular a part of American political ritual? Perhaps it is not too farfetched to see the effects of some subtle deprivation in characteristic American attitudes toward the symbols of traditional and nonrevolutionary societies, especially in that curious and awkward mixture of awe, incomprehension, and amusement

³⁸ Jonathan Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789*, ed. Jonathan Boucher (Boston and New York, 1925), 46-47.

with which Americans have always regarded the trappings of monarchy, particularly British monarchy.

All in all, since Americans did not become wholly new men in 1776 or 1783, since they were long to remain, in many respects, Englishmen, the Revolution could not help but make them poorer Englishmen by increasing their alienation and remoteness from the main centers of English life. As men, Americans may have grown more cosmopolitan in consequence of the Revolution, but, as Englishmen, they grew more provincial. This is, no doubt, why Americans have not liked, since the eighteenth century, to think of themselves as English, and also why they were for so long at such pains to defend their isolation as the product of deliberate and philosophical choice.

To suggest that guilt and deprivation are among the effects, for Americans, of the Revolution seems worth while, if only because the possibility of such consequences is so rarely admitted into discussion. It would be foolish, however, to see these as primary in the heritage of the Revolution. America is, and was at the end of the eighteenth century, far more than an estranged English colony. The Revolution was genuinely two-sided: it meant alienation, but it also meant liberation. The American colonies had, perhaps since their founding, dissented in varying degree from the established social, ecclesiastical, and governmental arrangements in England. Now, suddenly, they were able, through the Revolution, to transform mere dissent into a new system, positive and ultimately lawful. Such a transformation of protest into affirmation is, at least in a narrow sense, what a revolution is.³⁹ Through the Revolution and the Constitution that was its culmination, Americans articulated a remarkable ideology, one that, without much revision, has given law and freedom, tenaciously if sometimes precariously balanced, to a continent.

The heart and center of this ideology is political individualism: individual man—*his* life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness—became the central concern of the whole political order. This represented a radical change of focus, away from a concept of state that Americans had probably never believed in, toward the individual whose life was already so vitally apparent in America. Such change of focus brought with it a train of logical consequences; the first of these was the necessary repudiation of monarchy in favor of a republic. This was necessary, not because monarchy was hos-

³⁹ Palmer defines a revolution as an "unlawful change in the conditions of lawfulness." (Palmer, *Age of the Democratic Revolution*, I, 198.) Such a definition cannot, of course, suggest the dynamic conflict inherent in the process of revolution. Gottschalk has described this process compactly in dialectical terms, the revolution, in his view, being a synthesis resulting from the conflict between an enfeebled old regime and aggressive discontent, and occurring "not so much because antithesis is irresistible as because thesis has collapsed." (See Gottschalk, "Place of the French Revolution," 501, 508-509.)

tile to liberty, for it was not; and not because it was incompatible with democracy, for it was not; nor was democracy an aim of the Revolution. The repudiation of monarchy was necessary because monarchy, as much as an established church, stood for a social order repugnant to individualism. Monarchy stood for a hierarchial order mysteriously linking present to past, irrationally claiming a greater total than the sum of its parts, and demanding service and obedience, not for the sake of self-interest, individual or even collective, but for the life and perpetuation of society itself. None of this had ever made much sense in American terms, and John Adams may well have been right when he wrote, years before the Revolution, that the settlers of the American colonies, "had an utter contempt of all that dark ribaldry of hereditary, indefeasible right," and ". . . knew that government was a plain, simple, intelligible thing, founded in nature and reason, and quite comprehensible by common sense."⁴⁰

Monarchy disposed of, the other distinctive features of the revolutionary settlement followed logically: a written constitution was not only practically essential in setting up a republican government; it was, in the rational clarity of its text, further argument against all forms of "dark ribaldry" in government. A federal structure of government not only reflected the pre-existing separation and autonomy of the old colonies, but also, by fragmenting the authority of the state, offered further security to the individual, as did the carefully devised system of checks and balances among the branches of government. The principle of judicial review (implicit rather than explicit in the Constitution) was not only familiar from prerevolutionary experience in appealing to higher authority in England, but, once again, kept the practice of government within reach of individual reason.

And so, using old and familiar materials of construction, America went beyond British experience to build a new structure, simply proportioned, severe, but human in scale. It was an audacious and radical achievement, carried out so deliberately and independently: the establishment of a republic in a world of monarchies; the establishment of a federal system of government in a world of unitary states; the construction of governments, general and local, under plainly written constitutions, in a world ruled by fiat and custom; above all, the successful "reduction to practice" of the principle of government by consent of the governed—heretofore a mere theory of the Enlightenment.

It is perfectly true, of course, that all of this embodied pre-existing American leanings and preferences (it would be surprising if it did not). American

⁴⁰ "A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law," in *The Works of John Adams*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (10 vols., Boston, 1856), III, 454.

individualism was a fact before the Revolution, but the Revolution made it an established and orthodox fact.⁴¹ Until the Revolution, as has been pointed out, it was quite possible to believe that America's characteristic lines of development had been "*away from*, not *toward*, something."⁴² Indeed, this was exactly what the leading American Tories and their English friends had believed. It was the Revolution and its successful confirmation in the Constitution that installed America's political predispositions behind solid walls which could not easily be attacked, and, as a matter of fact, still stand four-square.

The architecture of the revolutionary settlement is the Revolution's most visible achievement. Its importance could hardly be overstated, for it was the means by which the ambitions, the interests, the energies liberated by the Revolution were to be successfully contained and reconciled, as well as preserved. Even so, its architecture is only one of the Revolution's manifestations, perhaps not even the most important. The Revolution was, above all else, an intense, painful, joyful, youthful American experience. It was an experience, by no means common to all societies, young or old, of estrangement and danger, of bitter family strife sometimes requiring principle to be put ahead of natural affection; it was also an experience of awesome new opportunity, of limitless horizons suddenly opened up. Contemplating the future of his new country, an American of the Revolution could say with Cortes' captain, "I stood looking at it and thought that never in the world would there be discovered other lands such as these."⁴³ Not merely a sense of discovery, but more, a sense of possession permeates the writings of the Revolution; it was as if now each man could say, for the first time, that the land was *his*.

And if Americans lost an old family, they gained a new: "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders, are no more," said Patrick Henry, too soon but not untrue; "I am not a Virginian, but an American."⁴⁴ This new sense of nationhood was the child, not the parent of the Revolution, and, to this day, American patriotism retains some of the character of the Revolution: it is still austere and self-con-

⁴¹ Kenyon, "Republicanism and Radicalism," 174. Concerning American individualism, it is important to remember that it was, and perhaps still is, radical primarily in its claims against traditional state authority; it did not challenge nongovernmental authority—that of the family, or the informal authority of the community, or the authority of a disestablished church; it did not even challenge revolutionary state authority, based, as it appeared to be, on reason.

⁴² Bailyn, "Political Experience and Enlightenment Ideas," 350.

⁴³ Quoted in John Bartlett Brebner, *The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806* (New York, 1933), 40.

⁴⁴ Quoted in R. D. Meade, *Patrick Henry: Patriot in the Making* (Philadelphia and New York, 1957), 325.

scious; it possesses a confessional and creedal quality, and withal a surprising verve and exuberance.

Perhaps it is just because so much of the spirit of the Revolution survives that the exact margins of its influence are so hard to delineate. For survive it surely does, sometimes with more than a trace of revolutionary zeal. There may be a hint of an explanation for the Revolution's vitality and longevity in those familiar words of John Adams and Benjamin Rush: "The Revolution was in the Minds of the People," wrote Adams; "It remains," said Rush, ". . . to prepare the principles, morals, and manners of our citizens, for these forms of government." It was not only that the founding fathers built solidly, but it was that they plainly understood, and have, in some way, never allowed their descendants to forget, that a revolutionary society lives by its principles and by their deliberate propagation, generation to generation.

Whatever its ultimate origin, the doctrinal tradition in American politics comes from the Revolution. It is a prickly tradition—rigid, moralistic, and self-righteous sometimes, yet with an ultimate respect for the rules of reason and a saving capacity for self-criticism. The world might often wish that America did not feel compelled to live by principle, and compelled, moreover, to discuss its principles in interminable and often crude public debate. The world might wish fervently that America did not flatly expect the world to live, now or some day, by American principles. But it is fortunate that the principles are as good as they are. At any rate, they and the compulsion to live and judge by them come straight from the Revolution.

Great Britain and the 1914-1915 Straits Agreement with Russia: The British Promise of November 1914

C. JAY SMITH, JR.*

THOUGH it was negotiated nearly thirty years before the well-ventilated Yalta Agreement, the Anglo-Franco-Russian Straits Agreement of 1914-1915 has been examined so far almost entirely on the basis of tsarist Russian documents published by the Soviet government during the decades 1920-1940.¹ The distinguished British memoirists of the same decades almost completely overlooked the fact that they had promised Russia Constantinople and the Straits well before they initiated the celebrated Dardanelles-Gallipoli campaign, and the French sources add little to the evidence of the Russian documents.² What follows represents an effort to present new information on the August-November 1914 phase of the Straits Agreement on the basis of the papers of former British Prime Minister Herbert H. Asquith, later the Earl of Oxford and Asquith.³

It has long since been demonstrated that during the period 1895-1914 traditional British opposition to the installation of Russia in Constantinople

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¹ The following are based, in varying degrees, on some or all of the Russian documents: Harry N. Howard, *The Partition of Turkey, 1913-1923* (Norman, Okla., 1931); Albert Pingaud, *L'histoire diplomatique de la France pendant la grande guerre* (3 vols., Paris, 1937-40); F. I. Notovich, *Poteria soiuznikami Balkanskogo poluostrova* [The Loss of the Balkan Peninsula by the Allies] (Moscow, 1947); C. J. Smith, *The Russian Struggle for Power, 1914-1917* (New York, 1956); W. W. Gottlieb, *Studies in Secret Diplomacy during the First World War* (London, 1957).

² Winston Churchill was the only member of the 1914-1915 War Cabinet who mentioned the British promises of November 1914 to the Russians. (See Winston Churchill, *The World Crisis* [4 vols., New York, 1923], II, 198-200.) Churchill, however, gives no details as to either these promises or the formal agreement of March-April 1915. Although Sir Edward Grey is candid about the later, he overemphasizes the importance of the Dardanelles-Gallipoli campaign in explaining the agreement. (See Viscount Grey of Fallodon, *Twenty-Five Years, 1892-1916* [2 vols., New York, 1925], II, 183-89.) Grey's version of events was accepted without question by his distinguished biographer and defender. (See George M. Trevelyan, *Grey of Fallodon* [Boston, 1937], 320-22; see also The Earl of Oxford and Asquith, *Memories and Reflections* [2 vols., Boston, 1928], II, 77-78, and Lord Bertie of Thame, *Diary, 1914-1918*, ed. Lady Algernon Gordon Lennox [New York, 1924], 119, 149.) Aside from Pingaud's work, the most valuable French sources are Maurice Paléologue, *La Russie des Tsars pendant la grande guerre* (3 vols., Paris, 1921), and Raymond Poincaré, *Au service de la France* (7 vols., Paris, 1927-30).

³ Lady Violet Bonham Carter, widow of the late private secretary and literary executor of the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, Sir Maurice Bonham Carter, arranged that I be permitted to consult the Herbert H. Asquith Papers in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

and the Straits was considerably weakened.⁴ From August to October 1914 three developments brought this trend to a climax: the German attack on Belgium and France, which brought Britain into the war; growing concern that Russia intended to take advantage of Germany's western involvements to destroy Austria-Hungary completely; mounting evidence that Germany intended to use its increasing influence in Turkey to threaten vital British interests in Egypt, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia.

In the search for answers to such enormous problems, the question of war leadership was all-important. Despite efforts to develop the Committee of Imperial Defence between 1903 and 1914 as something analogous to the present National Security Council in the United States, the higher direction of the British war effort during August–November 1914 was handled by the large and unwieldy Liberal cabinet, or by private conferences between its most important members.⁵ Aside from the Prime Minister, Herbert H. Asquith, and the Lord Chancellor, Viscount Haldane of Cloan, these last naturally included the ministers responsible for the Foreign Office, the War Office, and the Admiralty: Sir Edward Grey, Earl Kitchener of Khartoum, and Winston Churchill, respectively. The political power of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Lloyd George, guaranteed him a place in the inner circle, and the occupant of the India Office, the Marquess of Crewe, was consulted about vital matters. The ablest military figures had gone to France, and Lord Kitchener ignored the others.⁶ During the week following the British declaration of war on Germany on August 4, 1914, the full dimensions of the Turkish problem became clear in the wake of such well-known incidents as the British seizure of Turkish ships being built in British shipyards, the arrival of the German cruisers *Göben* and *Breslau* in the Straits, and their technical sale to Turkey.⁷ The Russian solution to the problem, as advanced by Foreign Minister Serge D. Sazonov, was to offer the Turks the abolition of the capitulations, the return of German eco-

⁴ A. J. P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848–1918* (Oxford, Eng., 1954), 359–71, 445–46, 462–89, 504–19; Trevelyan, *Grey of Fallodon*, 94–95, 103–104, 204–22.

⁵ Churchill, *World Crisis*, II, 402; Asquith, *Memories*, II, 10–14, 24–26, 30–31, 102–105; David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs* (6 vols., Boston, 1933–37), I, 74–80, 338; Lord Hankey, *The Supreme Command* (2 vols., London, 1961), I, 45–84, 136–49, 176–86; see also Franklyn A. Johnson, *Defence by Committee: The British Committee of Imperial Defence* (New York, 1960), 144.

⁶ For assessments of the Big Eight and their relationships to each other, see Johnson, *Defence by Committee*, 144–56; Hankey, *Supreme Command*, I, 183–86; Philip Magnus, *Kitchener, Portrait of an Imperialist* (New York, 1959), 276–98; Churchill, *World Crisis*, I, 71–78; see also Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher, *Memories and Records* (2 vols., New York, 1920), I, 64–99, and Ernest R. May, *The World War and American Isolation, 1914–1917* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 7–13.

⁷ Sir Julian S. Corbett, *History of the Great War: Naval Operations* (2 vols., London and New York, 1920), I, 56–73, 86–94; Grey, *Twenty-Five Years*, II, 171–72; Churchill, *World Crisis*, I, 236–43, 165–75.

conomic concessions, and Greek and Bulgarian territory. Sazonov viewed the Turkish situation, not as an opportunity to claim Constantinople and the Straits, but as an inconvenient distraction from his efforts to promote a partition of Austria-Hungary by Russia, Italy, Rumania, and Serbia, and various new Balkan boundaries, involving, *inter alia*, the partition of Albania.⁸ By August 16 the Russians were publicly proclaiming their intention to "liberate" the German and Austrian Poles and by August 24 were making the same promises to the Austro-Hungarian Ukrainians.⁹ But they showed no disposition to claim anything from Turkey and on August 18 willingly joined in a British offer to Turkey of a guarantee of its "independence and integrity against any enemies that may wish to utilise the general European complication to attack her," in return for "scrupulous neutrality."¹⁰

This offer was not only less generous than the one Sazonov wanted to make the Porte, but fell short of the 'Turks' expectations, since they responded to it on August 20 by demanding:

... that the Capitulations should be abolished immediately. . . .
 ... the immediate return of the two Turkish battleships acquired by His Majesty's Government at the commencement of the war. . . .
 ... renunciation of any interference with the internal affairs of Turkey. . . .
 ... if Bulgaria should intervene against the Triple *Entente*, Western Thrace should be given back to Turkey.
 ... the restoration of the Greek islands. . . .
 ... the allied Powers should undertake to oblige the Triple Alliance to accept any agreements which might be reached with respect to the Capitulations.¹¹

Grey, however, never had any intention of allowing Turkey and Russia to determine British policy with respect to the Balkans and Near East, and he had ample support in this regard from the British cabinet. Well before he had rejected the above terms on August 22, he had fended off Sazonov's proposals regarding Austria-Hungary, Italy, the Balkan States, and Turkey¹² and had presented a plan of his own. As early as August 11 he reported to the British cabinet "M. Venizelos' important proposal for a Balkan confederation against 'Pan-Germanism,'" and Asquith wrote the King: "The cabinet was strongly of opinion that every encouragement should be given to the scheme, and that, provided the states can be brought into concerted action, financial assistance should be promised from this country."¹³ Two years later, in secret testimony before the Dardanelles Inquiry, Asquith explained that

⁸ Pingaud, *Histoire diplomatique de la France*, I, 11-94; Smith, *Russian Struggle for Power*, 8-41, 63-76.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 8-16, 72-74.

¹⁰ *Correspondence Respecting Events Leading to the Rupture of Relations with Turkey* [hereafter cited as *Correspondence*], Cd. 7628, Miscellaneous No. 13 (London, 1914), 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹² *Ibid.*, 9; Smith, *Russian Struggle for Power*, 8-41, 63-76.

¹³ Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Aug. 11, 1914, Asquith Papers.

At the outset of the war with Germany and Austria the general policy of this country in Eastern Europe had been to promote a Confederation of the Balkan States. It was felt that if the neutral Balkan States remained separate they had better also remain neutral. If one went in separately on one side another would go in on the other side, and Turkey would act where she saw advantage. . . . Although, at the outset of the war, the Russian Foreign Minister had come to the conclusion that a Balkan Confederation was a chimera, and had made independent efforts to secure the cooperation of Roumania, this policy never the less underlay all or nearly all the Balkan diplomacy of the Allies up to the time when the decision was taken to attack the Dardanelles. It was cordially and actively supported by M. Venizelos, the Greek Prime Minister, who was in fact its originator. . . .¹⁴

But a week after Venizelos had mentioned the idea, it was by no means certain that there would be enough time to scare off the Turks with a Balkan confederation. After the cabinet meeting of August 17 Asquith had to report to the King that

The most pressing question was the attitude of Turkey, which during the last few days has become more unsatisfactory. The Goben & Breslau are now flying the Ottoman flag, but the German crews do not appear to have been got rid of. Both Lord Crewe & Lord Kitchener were anxious that Moslem susceptibilities in India & Egypt should be carefully considered, and that if possible the aggressive should come from Turkey & not from us.¹⁵

And on the next day, August 18,

A somewhat alarmist telegram from Cairo, in regard to a possible invasion of Egypt by Turkey, was discussed. Lord Kitchener saw no grounds for apprehension, or for further precautions (before the arrival of the Indian Division) beyond the despatch of one or two ships to the entrance of the Suez Canal, & the Cabinet took the same view.¹⁶

Kitchener's optimism seemed justified on August 19, since at the cabinet meeting that day,

A reassuring message was read from the General commanding in Egypt, and it was agreed to make the exits of the Canal secure by the despatch of 4 torpedo destroyers.

¹⁴ Asquith, "The Dardanelles Inquiry, Secret Notes for Evidence Explaining the Reasons for the Various Decisions Taken by the Government" [hereafter cited as "Dardanelles Inquiry"], Printed at the Foreign Office by C. R. Harrison, Aug. 11, 1916, *ibid.* Most of the material in this document was not included in the well-known *Dardanelles Report*. The reason is clear from a paragraph at the beginning of the document: "As my evidence regarding the initiation of the Dardanelles operations will necessitate constant reference to the Proceedings of the War Council, and to diplomatic negotiations of a highly secret character which the Foreign Office do not wish to be alluded to in public at the present time, and which concern our Allies and neutrals at least as much as ourselves, I must request that the Commission may now sit in secret."

¹⁵ Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Aug. 17, 1914, *ibid.*; see also Grey, *Twenty-Five Years*, II, 170-71.

¹⁶ Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Aug. 18, 1914, Asquith Papers; see also Hankey, *Supreme Command*, I, 64-66, 169-73, 205 n.; Churchill, *World Crisis*, I, 310-13; Magnus, *Kitchener*, 283-86.

The Turkish situation has improved, and a telegram was approved from Mr. Churchill to Enver Pasha, agreeing to deliver up to the Turks at the end of the war the two battleships seized here, and to pay £1000 a day in weekly instalments for their use from the time that the German crews of the 'Goeben' & the 'Breslau' leave Turkish territory. . . .¹⁷

Kitchener's assurances, then, had induced an atmosphere of euphoria when, on August 20, the cabinet decided not to accept an offer by Greece to join the *Entente* Powers. To be sure, as Asquith pointed out to the Dardanelles Inquiry two years later,

In order to appreciate the attitude of Greece, it must be borne in mind that when the Great War broke out in August, 1914, Greece was on the very verge of war with Turkey, and, in spite of a Balkan Conference at Bucharest at the end of August, relations between the two countries remained very strained until after Turkey's entry into the war. . . . On the 18th August Greece had made an offer to Great Britain of the most sweeping kind. She "formally placed at the disposal of the *Entente* Powers all the naval and military forces of Greece from the moment when they might be required."¹⁸

But merely because Greece was trying to assure itself of Anglo-French aid in case of a Turkish attack, Churchill saw no reason why its offer should not be accepted, not only because of the possible effect on Turkey, but also because acceptance might rally the neutral Balkan States and cause them to join Serbia in attacking Austria-Hungary.¹⁹

Grey, however, had to consider not only Kitchener's and Crewe's warnings against precipitate anti-Turkish action but also the possible effect of acceptance upon Sazonov. In addition to Turkish neutrality the Russian Foreign Minister wanted Greek territorial concessions to Bulgaria,²⁰ and Grey claimed that he was concerned about possible Greek designs on Constantinople. When the Foreign Secretary pointed all this out to the cabinet on August 20, Kitchener seems to have retorted that Russia ought to cede Bessarabia to Rumania as a means of pushing forward the Balkan confederation idea.²¹ In the end Asquith had to report to the King on the August 20 cabinet meeting:

. . . . The greater part of the sitting was occupied in the consideration of the reply to be given to M. Venizelos' latest proposal for an alliance between Greece and this country, to become effective in the event of war with Turkey, or of Bulgaria attacking Serbia, whom Greece is under obligation to support. It was agreed to send

¹⁷ Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Aug. 19, 1914, Asquith Papers; see also Asquith, *Memories*, II, 32-33; Churchill, *World Crisis*, I, 526-27; *Correspondence*, 8, 20-21.

¹⁸ Asquith, "Dardanelles Inquiry," Asquith Papers.

¹⁹ Churchill, *World Crisis*, I, 529-31.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; Grey, *Twenty-Five Years*, II, 178-85.

²¹ Asquith, *Memories*, II, 34. In this published work, Asquith noted only that Kitchener was "strong that Rumania is the real pivot of the situation." But see his cabinet letter of September 23, 1914, quoted below; see also Magnus, *Kitchener*, 283-89.

at once a cordial acknowledgment, and to defer the precise terms of a fuller answer until after consultation with France & Russia. The Cabinet were of opinion (1) that a Balkan federation as proposed by M. Venizelos more than a week ago was, if practicable, most desirable, (2) that this country should not promise intervention in any purely inter-Balkan conflict, but (3) that if Bulgaria joined the Austro-German alliance & as a member of that Alliance took part in the attack on Servia, we might properly promise Greece (if drawn in) such help as we could afford her.²²

Later, as Asquith subsequently testified, "The three *Entente* Powers . . . agreed that the separate entry into the war of Greece was not desirable, at any rate, so long as Turkey remained neutral, as it would prejudice any attempt to form a Balkan bloc."²³

It did, however, seem a good time to take a second look at Sazonov's earlier proposals for new Balkan boundaries. On August 22-23 Britain and France signified their acceptance of the principle that Serbia and Greece ought to make concessions to Bulgaria, and on August 26-27 Grey and the new French Foreign Minister, Théophile Delcassé, raised the question in Athens.²⁴ They were stimulated, no doubt, by Turkey's mining the Dardanelles and receiving a new contingent of Germans in Constantinople, which caused the British ambassador, Sir Louis Mallet, to warn the grand vizier on August 27 that "should Turkey be so unwise as to provoke the Powers of the Triple *Entente*, it would mean the end of the Ottoman Empire."²⁵ Venizelos' violent refusal to cede territory to Bulgaria, and Serbia's claims to Austrian territory also desired by Italy, however, had caused Grey to halt Balkan negotiations by September 3-4.²⁶

In the light of German successes in Belgium, France, and East Prussia at the end of August, and the complications of Balkan diplomacy, there seemed to be little that could be done about Turkey, even though that country was mobilizing for an attack on both Egypt and British oil interests at Abadan, near the Turko-Persian frontier, and had seized British property in nearby Mesopotamia.²⁷ The cabinet, to be sure, all but reversed its August 20 decision on September 2 when it considered "... The possibility of the outbreak of war between Turkey & Bulgaria on the one side and Greece on

²² Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Aug. 21, 1914, Asquith Papers. Lloyd George's views may well have been the deciding factor in the reaching of this decision. In his memoirs, Asquith notes that the former was "keen for Balkan federation." (Asquith, *Memoirs*, II, 34.) But if so, Lloyd George had forgotten the cabinet meeting of August 20, 1914, when he wrote his memoirs twenty years later. (See Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, I, 82-89.)

²³ Asquith, "Dardanelles Inquiry," Asquith Papers.

²⁴ Smith, *Russian Struggle for Power*, 20-41, 57-76.

²⁵ *Correspondence*, 10-14.

²⁶ Smith, *Russian Struggle for Power*, 20-41, 57-76.

²⁷ *Correspondence*, 14; "Secret Précis of Correspondence Regarding the Mesopotamian Expedition—Its Genesis and Development," prepared in the Military Department of the India Office, 1916, Asquith Papers.

the other. We could assure Greece that in such a contingency we should prevent any Turkish ships from coming out of the Dardanelles."²⁸ Churchill had gone a step further on September 1 when he arranged that Rear Admiral Mark Kerr, head of the British naval mission in Greece, should confer with the authorities in Athens on the possibility of joint Anglo-Greek or Anglo-Russo-Greek operations in the Straits. Though the imbroglio over concessions to Bulgaria had ruined these efforts by September 9, they did produce the idea of a British attack on Alexandretta (İskenderun) from Cyprus, in order to break up the concentration of Turkish troops for an attack on Egypt.²⁹

The truth was that whatever Turkey might do, the whole problem of Constantinople and the Straits could not be brought into focus until the winning of the Battle of the Marne between September 5 and 13 made completely clear the price Russia expected the Western Powers to pay for its aid in defeating the Central Powers. Even at the height of the initial German advance into France, the cabinet was nervous about formal adherence to the Franco-Russian alliance, since Asquith had to report as follows after its September 2 meeting:

... The proposal of France & Russia that we should join with them in a declaration not to make a 'separate peace.' The terms of the suggested formula were much discussed and criticised, and it was arranged that Sir E. Grey should have a preliminary consultation with the Russian Ambassador.³⁰

Not until its September 4 meeting did it take the following action:

The formula proposed by France & Russia—that the three allies should not separate when it comes to a question of making peace—was approved, with the addition (after much discussion) that no one of the allies will demand or propose terms of peace without the consent of the others.³¹

What the cabinet must have had in mind at the time were the public Russian promises to the Poles and Ukrainians three weeks before, promises that had not been cleared with the Western Powers. At any rate, when the Marne victory had been won ten days later, Sazonov officially unveiled on September 14 the war aims already suggested by his earlier diplomacy. They did not include a single word about Constantinople and the Straits or any other Turkish territory. Instead they involved partition of the German

²⁸ Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Sept. 2, 1914, *ibid.*; see also Asquith, *Memories*, II, 37-38; *Correspondence*, 17-18.

²⁹ Churchill, *World Crisis*, I, 531-35; Hankey, *Supreme Command*, I, 223-24; Grey, *Twenty-Five Years*, II, 181-82; Corbett, *History of the Great War*, I, 91-93; Smith, *Russian Struggle for Power*, 41-43.

³⁰ Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Sept. 2, 1914, Asquith Papers; see also Grey, *Twenty-Five Years*, II, 161-64; Poincaré, *Au service de la France*, V, 194, 211; Smith, *Russian Struggle for Power*, 43.

³¹ Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Sept. 4, 1914, Asquith Papers.

colonies by Britain, France, and Japan; massive territorial amputations from Germany by France and Russia; the reorganization of the German *Reich*; the breakup of the Habsburg Empire, with appropriate portions going to Russia, Rumania, Serbia, and Italy; and the redistribution of Balkan territories. Long before there was any response from London or Bordeaux, the temporary French capital, all this had been underscored by a new Russian proclamation on September 17, promising liberation to all subjects of the Habsburg Empire.³²

The French initially greeted this grand design with only vague expressions of general sympathy for its German aspects. The British were too concerned about the Turkish situation to make any response at all for a fortnight. Between September 5 and 23 there were new alarmist reports from Egypt, although after the establishment of a British naval patrol at the entrance to the Dardanelles, it seemed probable that the German controlled Turkish Navy might attack Russia's Black Sea coast rather than Greece, Cyprus, or Egypt. The British naval mission in Constantinople had been recalled on September 9, the same day that Turkey unilaterally abolished the capitulations.³³

Inspired by Russian victories in Galicia in mid-September, Sazonov seemed oblivious to the threat to Russia's Black Sea coast. On September 20, without consulting Grey and Delcassé, despite the September 4 agreement, he embarked upon negotiations in Bucharest that eventuated in a Russo-Rumanian agreement on October 2 concerning Austria-Hungary's Rumanian inhabited territories. Rumania seems to have signed the agreement because Sazonov did not demand immediate intervention and because the Russian military victories made it seem unwise to insist on the previous demand that Britain and France endorse Russia's policies. In fairness it should be noted that in part Sazonov was trying to halt the flow of German war materials into Turkey via Rumania and Bulgaria. At the root of the October 2 agreement, however, lay his well-justified suspicion that Britain and France, while accepting the principle of Serbo-Greek concessions to Bulgaria, intended to use both Rumania and Italy to block his plans for Austria-Hungary.³⁴

As a matter of fact, Kitchener's idea of the cession of Bessarabia to Rumania was by no means dead, although Asquith did not mention it to the Russians until October 29. On September 23 the British cabinet met to con-

³² Smith, *Russian Struggle for Power*, 17-20, 43-54.

³³ *Correspondence*, 21-29; Corbett, *History of the Great War*, I, 89-90; Churchill, *World Crisis*, I, 535.

³⁴ Pingaud, *Histoire diplomatique de la France*, I, 172-85; Smith, *Russian Struggle for Power*, 23-34, 136-42.

sider a Russian loan request and the Turkish provocations of the preceding fortnight. After noting approval of the Russian request, Asquith reported further to the King that

A long conversation took place on the unsatisfactory situation in Turkey, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Masterman & others expressing a strong opinion that as Turkey was behaving so badly, we ought at once to free ourselves from any obligation as to her future, and make common cause with the Balkan States. Lord Kitchener repeated his opinion that the important thing is to win over Roumania, and with that object to induce Russia to offer her the restoration of Bessarabia. In the end a proposal of Sir E. Grey was adopted that he should instruct Sir L. Mallet to inform the Porte, that while not contemplating for the moment hostile measures, we are grievously dissatisfied with the recent action of the Turkish Government, which has resulted in placing Constantinople under German, & no longer under Turkish control. Unless the 'peace party' soon succeed in getting the upper hand we shall be compelled to adopt an attitude of hostility & to take measures accordingly.³⁵

This early, then, the inexorable logic of events clearly suggested an arrangement with Russia regarding Constantinople and the Straits. Even the Marne victory had not been enough to cause the Turks to pull back, and Churchill's case was therefore much stronger than it had been a month before. But making common cause with the Balkan States meant that Britain must either underwrite Sazonov's war aims of September 14 or advance policies, such as Kitchener's Bessarabia proposal, that might cause Petrograd to reach an accommodation with Berlin and Vienna. The only way out of the impasse was to substitute Constantinople and the Straits for the September 14 war aims, despite latent anti-Russian sentiment in both the government and the opposition.³⁶

In the days immediately following September 23, there seemed little hope that the Turks would heed Sir Louis Mallet's warning of "the fatal result to the Turkish Empire of persisting in a course of veiled hostility and petty intrigue against the British Empire," and of "serious consequences" if "preparations against Egypt were allowed to continue."³⁷ At this point, Sir Edmund Barrow, Military Secretary of the India Office, offered a military alternative to Churchill's proposals vis-à-vis the Straits and Alexandretta when, on September 26, he submitted the following ideas to Lord Crewe:

All the omens point to war with Turkey within a few weeks or even days. Such a contingency need not alarm us unless the Turks succeed in drawing the Arabs to their side. In that case they will probably proclaim a Jihad and endeavor to raise Afghanistan and the Frontier tribes against us, which might be a serious danger

³⁵ Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Sept. 23, 1914, Asquith Papers.

³⁶ On prewar Russophobia in Britain, see Trevelyan, *Grey of Fallodon*, 209-10; Magnus, *Kitchener*, 196, 200; Earl of Ronaldshay, *The Life of Lord Curzon* (3 vols., London, 1928), II, 37-50, 122-40, 272-80, 305-19, III, 34-44.

³⁷ *Correspondence*, 29-32.

to India and would most certainly add enormously to our difficulties and responsibilities. This shows how important it is to us to avert a Turko-Arab coalition.

... we have only to give some sure sign of our intention to support ... the Arabs generally against the Turks to turn the balance in our favour. ... My solution of the problem is that we must give the signal *before* war breaks out or it may be too late, and that the best way of doing so, is to send a force from India to the Shatt-el-Arab *at once*. ...

On arrival the troops can be landed on Persian soil at Muhammerah or at Abadan Island, ostensibly to protect the oil installation, but in reality to notify the Turks that we meant business and to the Arabs that we were ready to support them. ... If war breaks out it will be necessary to occupy Basra at once. ...³⁸

The great merit of this plan was that if it was effected British forces would not be operating in an area about which France or Russia was sensitive; hence Lord Crewe was able at once to order the formation of an expeditionary force in India. Elsewhere, things also began to fall into place. Nudged by an emissary of the Russian Tsar, Sazonov finally said to the Western ambassadors in Petrograd on September 26 that although he rejected the notion of a change in the status of Constantinople after the war, he was interested in the future neutralization of the Straits under an international commission with warships at its disposal, and the establishment of a Russian naval base on the Bosphorus.³⁹ Then, on September 27, after some eight weeks of increasing interference with Allied shipping in the Straits, the Turks definitely closed them after a British destroyer turned back a Turkish destroyer at the entrance to the Dardanelles.⁴⁰

Now, at last, Count A. V. Benckendorff, Russian ambassador in London, was able to report a British response to the war aims proposal of September 14. Though the ambassador stated that he was presenting a composite view of the ideas of British ministers and of leaders of the opposition, most of his information must have come from Grey. The British leaders were reported to be willing for Russia to take German and Austrian Poland, provided autonomy was granted to all of Poland, and to be agreeable to an extension of Serbia into Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Dalmatian coast. They also approved French acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine, but definitely rejected French acquisition of the Rhineland. They wanted to destroy German naval power, but were unenthusiastic about the partition of the German colonial empire, or an attempt to reconstitute the German *Reich* on new foundations. Nor

³⁸ "The Mesopotamian Expedition," Asquith Papers.

³⁹ Pingaud, *Histoire diplomatique de la France*, I, 128-29; Smith, *Russian Struggle for Power*, 76-78.

⁴⁰ *Correspondence*, 2-12, 32-33.

were they much in favor of partitioning Austria-Hungary, especially if Italy and Rumania preserved neutrality.⁴¹

To be sure, after Turkey's closure of the Straits, the British leaders seem to have hoped that this development would push Italy and Rumania into the arms of the Allies. After cabinet meetings on September 28 and 30, Asquith could report that his colleagues were not inclined to be precipitate: "The situation with its prospective dangers was carefully reviewed in Egypt, the Persian Gulf, Bulgaria, & Roumania; but in none of these cases was any immediate action considered necessary." He went on to explain that "The recent communication between Sir R. Rodd & the Italian Foreign Minister was regarded as pointing to the probability of Italy making common cause with the Allies."⁴² A day later, however, as he subsequently confessed to the Dardanelles Inquiry, it appeared that Italy was waiting for Rumania to act:

As early as the 1st October the fact had been communicated to Sir Edward Grey by the Italian Ambassador that Italy and Roumania had come to an agreement not to depart from neutrality without eight days' notice; to watch events, and to take the same action in neutrality, mediation, or war. Moreover Italy, though she had as yet made no overtures, was recognised to be watching the situation very closely. There was thus an intimate connection between the policy of the Allies in the Balkans and Italy.⁴³

By this time Grey found himself at an impasse. Sazonov had Rumania in his power, and on October 1-2 the Greeks were willing only to discuss vaguely the possibility of helping Britain prevent an invasion of Egypt.⁴⁴ All that could be discussed with Bulgaria, as a consequence, was the possibility of financial help.⁴⁵ Grey himself had proof on September 29 that the Turks were preparing to stimulate anti-British activity in Arabia, India, and Afghanistan, and between September 28 and October 2 they forced a British warship to depart from the Shatt-al-Arab, the line of communication with the oil wells of Abadan.⁴⁶ At the October 2 cabinet meeting the Foreign Secretary elected to put up only feeble resistance to the war hawks. Afterward Asquith could report to the King the following momentous decision:

Sir Edward Grey reported that the situation in Turkey was still obscure, but the Cabinet were of opinion that after what has happened we ought to take a vigorous offensive, & to make every effort to bring in Bulgaria, Greece, & above all Rumania. *Henceforward, Great Britain must finally abandon the formula of "Ottoman integrity," whether in Europe or in Asia* [italics mine].⁴⁷

⁴¹ Smith, *Russian Struggle for Power*, 54-58.

⁴² Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Sept. 30, 1914, Asquith Papers.

⁴³ Asquith, "Dardanelles Inquiry," *ibid.*; see also Gottlieb, *Studies in Secret Diplomacy*, 135 ff.; Trevelyan, *Grey of Fallodon*, 331-32; Smith, *Russian Struggle for Power*, 136-42.

⁴⁴ Asquith, "Dardanelles Inquiry," Asquith Papers.

⁴⁵ "Bulgaria, 1914-15," Published by the Foreign Office, July 1915, *ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Correspondence*, 33-34.

⁴⁷ Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Oct. 2, 1914, Asquith Papers.

Years later, when belaboring Grey for the failure of his efforts to win over the Balkan States, Churchill and Lloyd George carefully skirted the issue of the Straits Agreement with Russia, to which the cabinet decision of October 2 finally opened the door.⁴⁸ But if all the war leaders were now agreed on the destruction of Turkey, some dangerous ground remained to be crossed before the Straits could be offered to Russia. As noted above, Kitchener had wanted a week before to demand Bessarabia, when the September 23 meeting cabinet reached the following decision:

It was agreed to aid Russia in financing a loan here of £20 millions, the proceeds of which are to be applied in discharging the debts of Russian trade to Great Britain, in the purchase of war material in this country by Russia, and in meeting the interest payable here on pre-existing Russian loans. The Russian Government is prepared to deposit 8 millions in gold in the Bank of England.

It was considered that the remaining 12 millions might be raised by British Treasury Bills, thus giving Russia the benefit of the credit of the United Kingdom.⁴⁹

But the Bessarabian proposal rapidly disappeared after October 2. For one thing its sponsor and Churchill, the vigorous advocate of Balkan negotiations, had all that they could do during the first three weeks of October in meeting the threat posed by the German advance on Antwerp and the Channel ports. Between October 2 and 17, moreover, news of Sazonov's treaty with Rumania filtered through to London and Bordeaux,⁵⁰ and it became clear that no rational Balkan policy could be pursued without a preliminary agreement with Petrograd. Two years later, in testimony before the Dardanelles Inquiry, Asquith still could not conceal his indignation over Russia's unilateral bargain with Rumania:

On the 19th September [Russian Old Style], 1914, Russia, for some unexplained reason, had concluded an agreement with her [Rumania], by which Roumania acquired the right to annex the parts of Hungary inhabited by Roumanians, and to occupy them as soon as she thought fit, in return for a declaration that, until she had occupied these regions she would observe a benevolent attitude towards Russia. There had also been an arrangement about the Bukowina. Russia, however, had not seen fit to communicate these arrangements to her Allies. In their ignorance of this arrangement it is probable that both the Allies and Greece were slightly less trustful of that country than would otherwise have been the case.⁵¹

And, in addition, it was scarcely likely that Italy, Greece, or Bulgaria would offer the Allies more than benevolent neutrality, once they had learned of Sazonov's generous bargain with Rumania. Consequently, the

⁴⁸ Churchill, *World Crisis*, II, 446, 479-86; Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, I, 82-89; see also Grey, *Twenty-Five Years*, II, 157-91, and Trevelyan, *Grey of Fallodon*, 289, 307, 318-22.

⁴⁹ Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Sept. 23, 1914, Asquith Papers.

⁵⁰ Pingaud, *Histoire diplomatique de la France*, I, 172-85.

⁵¹ Asquith, "Dardanelles Inquiry," Asquith Papers.

only way to check the Turks during October was to push forward the preparation of a Persian Gulf expeditionary force. Lord Crewe had ordered its formation on October 3. Originally destined for Abadan or Mohammerah, it was diverted to Bahrein before it left Bombay and Karachi on October 16-17, owing to Turkish closure of the Shatt-al-Arab on October 4 and Turkish objections on October 12 to the presence of British warships at Mohammerah. By October 23, however, it was poised to strike.⁵²

The Germans finally saw to it that both Kitchener's Bessarabian proposal and indignation over the Russo-Rumanian treaty of October 2 faded from view. At the peak of the battle for Antwerp and the Channel ports, Russia may have seemed an expensive and trying ally, but with the British Isles themselves in danger, it was nevertheless a necessary ally. After three successive cabinet meetings on October 20, 21, and 22, Asquith had to report to the King:

The news from the Eastern theatre has been chequered, and there is a strong feeling in the cabinet that the Russian military authorities should be more ready than they have hitherto shown themselves to take both the French & ourselves into their confidence. The movements in both theatres of war are, in fact, interdependent; and the success of the joint campaign is involved in the concert of plans & co-operation in action. . . .

The question of Home Defence, and of possible German incursions whether by way of invasion or raid, has occupied the attention of the Cabinet. Mr. Churchill is confident that any operation of the kind, on more than an insignificant scale, is doomed to disaster. Lord Kitchener is still disposed to think that, in the event of a 'stalemate' position in the two military fields, the Germans may contemplate invasion with a large force—say 150,000 or even 200,000 men.⁵³

It seemed at this time, moreover, that the closure of the Straits a month before had not only endangered Russia's capacity to go on fighting the Germans but had also brought economic hardship to the West. Two years later, in justifying the 1915 Gallipoli campaign to the Dardanelles Inquiry, Asquith mentioned

. . . the shortage of shipping, which, though less acute than it became later, was already making itself felt, and which rendered very desirable the release of the British, allied, neutral, and interned enemy shipping locked up in the Black Sea, amounting in the aggregate to 129 steamships, with a total of 347,800 gross tons. . . . Akin to this was the need for the export of Russian wheat, the withdrawal of which compelled Italy and Greece to draw their supplies from America, involving (owing to the longer voyage) a greater demand for shipping, raising freights, and increasing the shortage. . . . In this category also fall the Russian exchanges, which had depreciated owing to Russia's inability to export, and which rendered difficult the payment of the interest on the Russian loans, in which so

⁵² "The Mesopotamian Expedition," *ibid.*

⁵³ Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Oct. 22, 1914, *ibid.*

many French families were concerned, involving in consequence, a possible adverse influence on the willingness of France to face a prolonged war.⁵⁴

But in spite of Grey's attempts in his memoirs to justify the Straits Agreement with similar economic arguments, the principal reasons for that agreement were political rather than economic, particularly since Sazonov, after September 26, apparently remained oblivious to the situation described above. At some point between the week of September 26–October 2 (Sazonov's proposal regarding a Russian naval base on the Bosphorus, the closure of the Straits, and the British cabinet decision on Turkish integrity) and the war declarations on Turkey (November 2–5), Grey had a show-down with Churchill and Kitchener on Russia and the Straits. In guarded fashion, Asquith and Grey made this clear to the British War Council on March 10, 1915, when it met to approve a formal Straits Agreement. In interpreting their statements rightly, it must be recalled that the Russians *had* made a very strong demand for the Straits on March 4, 1915, in the aftermath of the British naval bombardment of the Dardanelles. It should also be recalled that Asquith and Grey were justifying a policy to the leaders of the Tory opposition (Balfour, Bonar Law, and Lansdowne), not seeking to lay bare all the secrets of the Liberal government. Their statements were as follows:

SIR EDWARD GREY said that some months ago it had become clear that Russia wanted to know how she stood with Great Britain and France in regard to the questions of Constantinople and the Straits. The economic pressure on Russia had become great owing to the closing of the Straits on the intervention of Turkey in the war, as the Baltic entrances were closed by the German fleet; and Archangel and Vladivostok, both of them liable to be ice-bound, were the only available ports. We then gave a general assurance that a settlement of the question of the Straits in the Russian interest was necessary. . . . When the question had first been discussed M. Sazonoff had expressed his personal opinion that Russia would be content with the possession of the Bosphorus and the neutralization of Constantinople. . . .

THE PRIME MINISTER said that, when Russian proposals were first put forward, the naval and military advisors were asked to consider them on their merits. They were asked if there was any objection on naval and military grounds to granting Russian claims? Their reply was that there were no objections. The naval authorities appeared to think that the establishment of Russia at Constantinople, and the granting of all she asks, would make it desirable for us to have an additional naval base in these waters, *viz.*, Alexandretta, the probable terminus on the Mediterranean of the Baghdad Railway.

LORD KITCHENER agreed in the naval view. Alexandretta, he said, had a military, as well as a naval importance.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Asquith, "Dardanelles Inquiry," *ibid.*

⁵⁵ M.P.A. Hankey, "Secretary's Notes of a Meeting of a War Council held at 10 Downing Street, March 10, 1915," July 1916, *ibid.*

It is scarcely necessary at this point to remark that in his statement Grey lifted Sazonov's remarks of September 26 completely out of context in an effort to create a version of Russian war aims in the fall of 1914 that was largely imaginary, however real it might have been on March 10, 1915. On the other hand, Asquith's statement is very revealing as to the real situation between the crisis of October 20-22 and the Turko-German naval attack of October 29-30 on Russia's Black Sea coast. The Persian Gulf expeditionary force might be at Bahrein, but it was still uncertain where the Turks would strike the first blow, and, in any case, Kitchener and Churchill were as much concerned about Egypt as about Abadan, Basra, and Arabia. On October 23 the Turkish Naval Minister had told Sir Louis Mallet that

... England was treating Egypt as if it belonged to her, whereas it formed part of Ottoman dominions. Turks were indifferent about India, Tripoli, and Tunis, etc., but Egypt was on their frontier, and they felt about it as the French did about Alsace-Lorraine. They would do nothing officially, but would shut their eyes to any agitation which was directed against English occupation of Egypt.⁵⁶

Grey promptly flashed the warning that "a military violation of frontier of Egypt" would place the Turks "in a state of war with three allied Powers." But since it was hardly likely at this late date that this warning would be heeded, Alexandretta, halfway between Constantinople and the Suez Canal, had now become as important as Abadan and Basra, from the viewpoint of British imperial interests, even though it was the site of important French economic holdings.

In obtaining the consent of Kitchener and Churchill to an offer of Constantinople and the Straits to Russia, Grey may have used the argument that this would make it possible to lure Bulgaria to the Allied side with an offer of the parts of Turkish Thrace not desired by Russia. At any rate, the British were ready with such a gambit as soon as they learned of the Turko-German bombardment of Odessa, Feodosiya, and Novorossisk on October 29-30. As a Foreign Office summary of July 1915 put it,

When war actually broke out, various cautious offers were immediately made at Sophia. . . . On the 30th and 31st October the Russian and British Ministers at Athens held out to the Bulgarian Minister the hope of recovering Adrianople and Thrace (Sir F. Elliot even said "Thrace up to Chataldja"), and M. Venizelos promised him "at least to maintain benevolent neutrality." On the 1st November Sir H. Bax-Ironside reported that "if Bulgaria can be prevented from attacking Serbia for three weeks or so, she will, in my opinion eventually come in against Turkey."⁵⁷

But Sazonov's war aims of September 14 stood in the way of this arrangement. He had wanted to fight the war for the destruction of Germany and

⁵⁶ *Correspondence*, 65.

⁵⁷ "Bulgaria, 1914-15," Asquith Papers.

Austria-Hungary, not the destruction of Turkey. Although the outrageous Turkish attack of October 29-30 had lacked even the justification of the Japanese attack on Port Arthur in 1904, he yielded only to peremptory orders from the Tsar in issuing a belated war declaration on November 2, and then tried to explain away to the Western ambassadors what little it contained on the subject of Russia's desire for control of the Straits. Asquith's mentioning Bessarabia to Benckendorff on October 29, Sazonov no doubt surmised, was only a foretaste of further Anglo-French efforts to trade the Straits for control of the Balkan situation.

Sazonov's hesitancy between October 29 and November 2 seriously embarrassed British efforts to get on with the war against Turkey. On October 30 the cabinet had to reach the following inconclusive decision: "The hostile proceedings of Turkey against Russia in the Black Sea were reviewed, and it was resolved to wait for the developments of the next few days before taking ourselves, or suggesting to other Powers, a new departure."⁵⁸ Despite this decision, orders were somehow issued for the Indian Expeditionary Force to sail from Bahrein on October 30, though a cancellation of these orders arrived in time to delay its departure until November 2. It entered the Shatt-al-Arab on November 5, the day Britain declared war, landed at Abadan on November 8, and promptly began an offensive against Basra. Meanwhile, there was insufficient time to prevent a premature bombardment of Smyrna on November 1, and of the Dardanelles on November 2.⁵⁹

Grey tried on November 2 to provoke a more clear-cut Russian claim to Constantinople and the Straits by telling Benckendorff that Turkey had shown itself incorrigible and deserved no mercy or consideration, and by asking at the same time for Russian consent to British annexation of Egypt, whose khedive had just defected to the Turks. The British now had allies on the Russian Council of Ministers, whose more reactionary members were accusing Sazonov of neglecting vital Russian interests so that he could push his plans (which they strongly opposed) for a unified, liberated, and autonomous Poland, and for the independence of the subject nationalities of Austria-Hungary. Though agreeing with Sazonov on his desire to weaken Germany, they asserted that Russia ought to be content with the military conquest of East Prussia, Ruthenia, Constantinople, the Straits, and Turkish Armenia. Their views had the merit of being more in accord with Russian military potentialities than did Sazonov's, but the last thing Grey wanted was any slackening of the Russian military effort against Germany. His idea was not to stimulate a Russian campaign against Turkey as a sub-

⁵⁸ Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Oct. 30, 1914, *ibid.*

⁵⁹ "The Mesopotamian Expedition," *ibid.*

stitute for the one against Austria-Hungary, but to offer the assurance that a strong effort in East Prussia and Poland would ultimately be rewarded at Turkey's expense. Divining his intention, a desperate Sazonov tried, during the week of November 2-9, to spotlight the war on Turkey's eastern frontiers. Despite pleas from Grey that Russia not stir up the Muslims by attacking Turkey from Russian bases in northern Persia, Sazonov alleged the defense of Transcaucasia in justification of such attacks and suggested that Persia be brought into the war with an offer of parts of Mesopotamia. He could scarcely have made a more pointed reference to British operations in the Abadan-Basra area!⁶⁰

Grey could wait no longer to show his hand. Aside from Sazonov's Persian project, the Russian Foreign Minister hesitated on Balkan negotiations, a fact that Asquith plaintively reported to the King after the cabinet meetings of November 15 and 17:

Much consideration was given to the diplomatic situation in Bulgaria & Roumania. It is of much importance that both these states should take up arms against Turkey, and on the side of the allies. The enmity which exists between Servia and Bulgaria is a serious obstacle, and Russia hesitates to promise the latter such good terms as Great Britain & France are willing to offer her.⁶¹

If France was cooperative in Balkan negotiations, moreover, it had been making noises during the week of November 2-9 about the proposed British protectorate over Egypt.⁶²

On November 9, a mere four days after his declaration of war on Turkey, Grey called Benckendorff to the Foreign Office to receive a categorical rejection of Sazonov's Persian project. But at the same time, he remarked with studied casualness that if Germany were destroyed the fate of Constantinople and the Straits could be settled this time only in accordance with Russian convenience. After Benckendorff had had ample time for a two-way communication with Petrograd, he was told on November 13 by King George V himself that although there must be no postwar Allied intervention in the internal affairs of Germany, "as far as Constantinople is concerned, it is clear that this city must be yours." Finally, on November 14, the Foreign Secretary spelled things out in a note to Petrograd:

. . . Sir Edward Grey thinks that the conduct of the Turkish Government will render inevitable the complete solution of the Turkish problem, including the question of the Straits and Constantinople, in agreement with Russia. The solution of this question can naturally come only after the defeat of Germany, independ-

⁶⁰ Smith, *Russian Struggle for Power*, 84-85, 89-96, 146-53.

⁶¹ Asquith to King George V, Cabinet Letter, Nov. 17, 1914, Asquith Papers.

⁶² Poincaré, *Au service de la France*, V, 426-27, 435.

ently of a prior breakup of the Turkish State, which is possible as a result of the march of military operations.⁶³

At no time since early August had Grey acted with such firmness and decision, though he must have been aware of the dangers of the policy he was pursuing. He had, however, correctly gauged the situation, and the end of the battle in Flanders on November 22, followed on the next day by the British capture of Basra, found him in complete control of Allied policy. True, Sazonov's policies in the Balkans made it necessary to call off efforts to win over Bulgaria, Greece, and Rumania by November 25,⁶⁴ but at least Bulgaria had not yet joined the Central Powers. France was a delicate problem, since it had not been consulted about the November 9-14 promises to Sazonov and continued for some time to talk about Egypt. Grey could, however, offer recognition of its Tunisian and Moroccan protectorates to clear the air over Egypt, where the British protectorate was finally proclaimed on December 18. Shortly after he had raised with Benckendorff (December 3) the possibility of a separate peace with Austria-Hungary, France lost little time in backing the idea.⁶⁵

To be sure, between November 16 and 21 the Russians tried to draw the French over to their side, offering them the German Rhineland, Cilicia, Syria, and Palestine if they would support not only the war aims of September 14, but also Russian acquisition of Constantinople and the Straits and Turkish Armenia.⁶⁶ But the canny French were not likely to make such a bargain during the last six weeks of 1914, while Russia was being battered by the Germans in Poland and by the Turks in Transcaucasia, and when Austria-Hungary came close to defeating Serbia. These military events caused Kitchener to oppose, at a meeting of the new British War Council on November 25, new proposals by Churchill for operations against the Straits or Alexandretta, and Grey was happy to support the War Minister.⁶⁷ He now had Sazonov in a vise, from which only an unlikely Russian military victory could rescue him, but any further British military operations in the Near and Middle East might distract the Russians from the effort against Germany, as well as invite further trouble with France.

The Straits Agreement was a reality on November 25; two days earlier, Grey had not only reiterated his promises, but agreed to a Russian request that he make his attitude clear to France. The later, more formal agreement of March-April 1915 was largely a matter of gaining the consent of France

⁶³ Smith, *Russian Struggle for Power*, 84-88.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 148-54.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 119-20; Poincaré, *Au service de la France*, V, 440, 443, 485-87, 512-16.

⁶⁶ Smith, *Russian Struggle for Power*, 97-110.

⁶⁷ Hankey, "Secretary's Notes of a Meeting of a War Council held at 10 Downing Street, November 25, 1914," July 1916, Asquith Papers.

and of discussing the fate of Turkey in Asia. Despite the claims of the "revisionists" of the 1920's, neither France, nor for that matter, Russia, had much to do with bringing about the November agreement. The countries most responsible for it were Germany, which had gained control of the Straits, and Britain, which had determined to dislodge that control by whatever means were necessary.

The circumstances in which the agreement developed suggest that Grey was one of the great political strategists of the twentieth century. Before the war, to the despair of all his critics, he had neatly balanced between Germany and Russia. Russophobe Tories had disliked his concessions to Russia in Persia, and applauded his blocking of Russian policies in the Balkans and at the Straits in 1908-1909 and again in 1912-1913. Pacifists and pro-Germans had disliked his support of France in 1905-1906 and again in 1911-1912, and applauded his attempts to achieve a *détente* with Germany during 1912-1914. But in actuality he was neither pro-Russian nor pro-German. For all his support of the principles of arbitration and disarmament, he never lost sight of British interests, nor of what the basic issues in a given situation really were. To say this is not to deny the sincerity of his protestations that a country as important as Russia ought to have a secure outlet to the open sea.

In August and September 1914 all that really mattered was that France be saved from the German attack, and Russian help was obviously necessary to secure this end. But it would do no good to save France if Russia ruined the balance of power by destroying Germany and Austria-Hungary. Turkey moved forward voluntarily at this point as the answer to the problem—the victim whose partition might yet secure the European balance.

But matters could not be rushed, despite Churchill's and Sir Edmund Barrow's sound reasoning concerning military factors and the psychology of the Eastern peoples. Sazonov had somehow to be managed, at the same time that the Russophobes within Britain were made to see the realities of the situation. At any point between early August and late October Turkey might have warded off the Straits Agreement on the basis of the British proposal of August 18. It may be, too, that if the Russian war aims of September 14 had been more reasonable, or if Germany had not launched its western offensive of October 2-November 22, it would never have come about.

But as things actually stood, it was necessary during October-November 1914 to evolve a British policy whose interlocking points were as follows: to diminish the power of Germany and Austria-Hungary, but to leave them in existence as Great Powers; to destroy the Ottoman Empire; to keep Russia out of Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia by install-

ing it in Constantinople; to keep France out of Cologne, Mainz, and Koblenz, by installing it in Strasbourg and Belfort, more securely in Rabat and Tunis, and perhaps in Alexandretta, Beirut, and Damascus; and to tighten the British grip on Egypt, the Persian Gulf region, and the Arab lands in between.

Perhaps the most valid objection to Grey's policies is that they were based on the premise that there existed in Europe a potential power combination capable of holding Germany in check. But during the decade 1904-1914 it had been barely possible to ensure that Britain would even go to the aid of France and Russia in 1914. If Grey ought not to have been expected in 1914-1915 to foresee the collapse of both Russia and Germany in 1917-1918, still less ought he to have been expected to foresee the Germany of 1933-1945.

The "old diplomacy" that he employed failed to achieve its objectives, not because of its lack of the virtues of the Fourteen Points and the Atlantic Charter, but because in the first half of the twentieth century Britain and France could not cope with both Germany and Russia without the assistance of the United States. And it would require a whole generation after 1914-1915 for Americans to discover the advantages of the "old diplomacy."

Hans Zehrer as a Neoconservative Elite Theorist

WALTER STRUVE*

SHORTLY before the collapse of the New York stock market in 1929, a young German journalist published an article that would, he hoped, become the manifesto of the German "intelligentsia." In a procedure unusual for a man who rejected Marxism, Hans Zehrer cited a passage from the *Communist Manifesto* to support his position. After quoting the assertion that "all previous historical movements were movements of minorities or in the interests of minorities," he suggested a "more meaningful" formulation of it: "... All movements began as intellectual [*geistige*] movements of intelligent, well-qualified minorities which, because of the discrepancy between that which is and that which should be, seized the initiative."¹ Zehrer expected intellectuals to play the predominant role in creating and ruling a new Germany. During the final years of the Weimar Republic he and several of his friends used the pages of a monthly magazine, *Die Tat*, to stake out the future path of this minority. They participated prominently in the last, most turbulent phases of a widespread controversy about the type of leadership best suited to Germany since its defeat in World War I. Their efforts helped to make the *Tat* into one of the largest and most influential journals of German "neoconservatism."

Right Wingers who hesitated or refused to identify themselves with any political party and who dissociated themselves from the yearning of the more traditional Right to restore the Second *Reich* have come to be known as "neoconservatives." Their ideas and activities have attracted much attention recently from students of the Weimar Republic,² but their elite theories have not been studied systematically. Zehrer's ideas provide an especially revealing example of a neoconservative elite theory. Although he and the other members of the *Tat* circle were almost alone on the Right of the

* Mr. Struve, instructor at City College, New York, is interested in modern German intellectual history. Portions of this article appeared in a somewhat different form in his "Elite versus Democracy: The Conflict of Elite Theories with the Ideals of Political Democracy in Germany, 1918-1933," doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1962, esp. 213-39.

¹ Hans Zehrer, "Die Revolution der Intelligenz," *Tat*, XXI (Oct. 1929), 488.

² See esp. the surveys of neoconservatism by Armin Mohler, *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918-1932: Grundriss ihrer Weltanschauungen* (Stuttgart, 1950); Klemens von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism: Its History and Its Dilemma in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N. J., 1957); and Kurt Sontheimer, *Antidemokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik: Die politischen Ideen des deutschen Nationalismus zwischen 1918 und 1933* (Munich, 1962).

political spectrum in referring to the "intelligentsia" in a positive sense and in depicting it as the core of the political elite of the future, their basic conception of this elite resembled closely that of most other neoconservatives. An authoritarian elite with dictatorial powers would select its own members and would not be subject to popular control. The *Tat* circle's belief that the emergence of such an elite could resolve the problems of the middle class revealed in a particularly striking form the common concern of neoconservatives for the fate of that class. More explicitly than most neoconservatives, Zehrer regarded German society in a way that made the solution of its general problems dependent upon the assumption of power by an elite that would find solutions to the dilemmas confronting the middle class. An examination of his elite theory points to the need to search for the primary explanation for the extensive development of neoconservative elite theories after World War I in the acceleration of changes in Germany's social structure, especially in the effects of these changes upon substantial segments of the middle class.³

Although Zehrer wanted Germany to be ruled by a single authoritarian elite, he assumed that one or more such elites would always dominate every society. This assumption provided him and his co-workers with a position from which they could dismiss as impossible of realization both the Marxian goal of a "classless society" and the democratic goal of "rule by the people." Unlike the Communists and some other Left-wing proponents of an authoritarian elite, they did not envision the temporary rule of a "vanguard" that would help to create conditions eliminating any need for its own existence in the future. Similarly, the *Tat* scorned any attempt to realize most of the ideals of political democracy. It denounced parliamentary democracy as particularly unsuited to Germany.

Only on one very significant issue were Zehrer and his friends willing to

³ Most general studies of neoconservatism mention the *Tat* circle briefly. A more detailed examination appears in Edmond Vermeil's *Doctrinaires de la Révolution allemande 1918-1938* (Paris, 1938), 188-220. Vermeil misleadingly places the *Tat* circle directly in the tradition of Nazism. The most comprehensive published study of the circle, Kurt Sontheimer's "Der Tat-Kreis," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, VII (July 1959), 229-60, merely touches upon its conception of elites. Sontheimer's article shares some of the major weaknesses in much of the recent literature on neoconservatism: the failure to take the ideas of neoconservatism seriously, a failure that often leads to the characterization of them as "unrealistic"; and the introduction of premature moral judgments that obscure significant historical problems by chastising neoconservatives as wrongheaded intellectuals who should have supported the Weimar Republic, but perversely refused to do so. Historians such as Von Klemperer and Mohler who have approached neoconservatism more sympathetically have tended to become absorbed in the question of finding meaningful differences between the neoconservatives and the Nazis. Although this very significant question is one to which the study of neoconservative elite theories has much to contribute, here I can only note briefly the most important difference between those of the Nazis and the neoconservatives. Racism did not play a central role in most neoconservative elite theories; the *Tat* circle was almost entirely free of racist thought.

make a substantial concession to the ideals of democracy. They wanted membership in the future elite open to individuals from any segment of society.

Right-wing thought had undergone an important change since the collapse of the Empire. Even the German Nationalists (DNVP), the successors to the pre-Weimar Conservatives, tended to stress personal merit rather than birth or wealth as a qualification for political leadership.⁴ The demand for an elite that would recruit from every level of society was particularly insistent among neoconservatives. They adopted positions symptomatic of the decline of traditional conservatism and liberalism in Germany. They could applaud Oswald Spengler's pleas for the selection of leaders "in complete disregard for money or origins" in order to ensure that "no one remains in the depths who is born to command by virtue of his capabilities."⁵ Some neo-conservatives even suggested definitions of democracy compatible with the notion of an authoritarian elite. "True democracy," wrote a well-known publicist, "exists when the circle from which the leaders are recruited is as large as possible, not when as many people as possible have a voice in deciding matters."⁶

Neoconservatives refused to accept proposals by more traditionally minded conservatives for a revitalized nobility or state bureaucracy to rule the nation. Whether calling for a "new elite," a "new nobility," a "new ruling stratum," or simply "new leadership," neoconservatives rejected plans for a return to Wilhelminian Germany. The elite of the future would accept and perhaps welcome individual members of the "old elites," but only on the basis of personal merit. The elite theories of neoconservatism were formulated primarily by middle-class intellectuals in writings intended mainly for a middle-class audience. Even more important, their writings dwelt upon the protracted crisis of the middle class and proposed solutions—some explicit and some implicit—for which a mere restoration of the past did not suffice.

The segments of German society usually referred to as the *Mittelstand* (literally, the "middle estate") may have formed almost a majority of the population. According to a careful analysis of the census of 1925, 48 per cent

⁴ On the extent to which the Conservatives, the Right Wing of the National Liberals, and the successors of both felt that they had to make "concessions to democracy" in the period from the end of the war to the early years of the republic, see, e.g., Sigmund Neumann, *Die deutschen Parteien: Wesen und Wandel nach dem Kriege* (Berlin, 1932), 61–62; Walter Gagel, *Die Wahlrechtsfrage in der Geschichte der deutschen liberalen Parteien 1848–1918* (Düsseldorf, 1958), 167–70; Werner Liebe, *Die Deutschnationale Volkspartei 1918–1924* (Düsseldorf, 1956), 18–24; Hans Booms, *Die Deutschkonservative Partei: Preussischer Charakter, Reichsauffassung, Nationalbegriff* (Düsseldorf, 1954), 34–58.

⁵ Oswald Spengler, *Jahre der Entscheidung: Deutschland und die Weltgeschichtliche Entwicklung* (Munich, 1933), 161, and *Preussentum und Sozialismus* [1919] in *Politische Schriften* (Munich, 1933), 104.

⁶ Edgar J. Jung, "Volkserhaltung," *Deutsche Rundschau*, CCXXII (Mar. 1930), 188.

of the population belonged to socioeconomic strata occupying an intermediate position between the 51 per cent who were wage earners and the less than 1 per cent who were wealthy capitalists.⁷ The diversity of economic interests within the middle class was greater than that within the ranks of wagedworkers, big businessmen, or large landowners. Social and economic changes that had begun well before World War I affected the diverse strata within the middle class in markedly different ways. Only three major factors served to impart some measure of unity to the middle class. Two of these factors were essentially negative: its members were reacting, often in a similar way, to many of the same social and economic changes; its members all stood between a well-organized upper class and a well-organized working class. The third factor, although positive, was largely psychological: middle-class as well as other Germans often spoke and wrote as if a cohesive, unified middle class existed.

The old middle class of artisans, peasant proprietors, and small businessmen had not participated to the same degree as had big business in the enormous expansion of the economy that had occurred since the last decades of the nineteenth century. Large enterprises were assuming many functions that the old middle class had performed. The reactions of the "pre-capitalistic" and the "capitalistic" strata of the old middle class differed greatly. Peasants and artisans tended to reject institutions associated with capitalism and industrialism. Urban small businessmen increasingly accepted both capitalism and industrialism, while resenting trade-unions, state-owned enterprises, and many of the methods associated with big business. During the 1920's the "rationalization" and concentration movements in German industry accentuated many aspects of a modern market economy that had already become obnoxious to most segments of the old middle class. The position achieved by organized labor under the republic, moreover, seemed to increase costs and reduce profits proportionally more in small enterprises than in large ones. The old middle class felt itself at the mercy of forces far beyond its control—forces that the governments of the republic would not or could not control. The self-confidence of the old middle class was being corroded by a pervasive feeling, which Marxists helped to strengthen, that an increasing proportion of its functions were economically inefficient and technologically obsolete. Even many economists who were sympathetic toward the old middle class assumed that some form of extensive special pro-

⁷ See the tables in Theodor Geiger, *Die soziale Schichtung des deutschen Volkes* (Stuttgart, 1932), 72–73. Much of the more important literature on the middle class during the Weimar Republic is summarized in Karl Dietrich Bracher, *Die Auflösung der Weimarer Republik: Eine Studie zum Problem des Machtverfalls in der Demokratie* (3d ed., Villingen im Schwarzwald, 1960), 158–73, and Arthur Schweitzer, *Big Business in the Third Reich* (Bloomington, Ind., 1964), 60–87.

tection would be necessary if many of its members were to survive economically.⁸

The new middle class was expanding rapidly. Foremen, technicians, lower civil servants, and sales and office personnel performed many functions that had not existed a half century earlier. In 1882 there had been one salaried employee for every twenty-one wageworkers. By 1907 the ratio was one to nine, and by 1925, one to four.⁹ Unlike the nineteenth-century clerk, the "white-collar worker" had virtually no prospect of replacing his "boss" in the future. Composed largely of the progeny and former members of both the working class and the old middle class, the new middle class regarded its position in society ambivalently.¹⁰ Some white-collar workers viewed their status as a hard-won step upward on the ladder of social ascent. Others felt that they stood only one rung from the bottom—a rung from which they might at any moment be pushed from above or pulled from below. Still others, probably the overwhelming majority, hoped that they would ascend, but were terrified lest they descend.

The future of the new middle class became a highly controversial topic. Was the white-collar worker actually a proletarian? Most non-Marxist writers conceded that the two stood in a similar relationship to the means of production and that income level frequently provided no basis for distinguishing the one from the other, but they stressed the white-collar worker's closer relationship to his employer, the nonmanual nature of his work, and, above all, his aversion to identifying himself with the working class. Most Social Democrats regarded this aversion as an understandable but temporary aberration. They denied that the social consciousness of the white-collar worker corresponded to his actual position in society. Sooner or later, they asserted, he would become aware of the discrepancy and cooperate with the proletariat.¹¹

This cooperation never materialized on a large scale during the Weimar

⁸ See, e.g., the appropriate articles by well-known economists in two collaborative works: *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik* (9 vols., Tübingen, 1914-30), IX, and *Strukturwandlungen der deutschen Volkswirtschaft*, ed. Bernhard Harms (2d ed., 2 vols., Berlin, 1929), II.

⁹ My computation is from the table in Fritz Croner, *Soziologie der Angestellten* (Cologne and Berlin, 1962), 199.

¹⁰ Some of the best insights into this mentality are contained in a novel by Hans Fallada, *Kleiner Mann, was nun?* (Berlin, 1932). Of the scholarly literature on the new middle class, see esp. Fritz Marbach, *Theorie des Mittelstandes* (Bern, 1942), 388-401. Karl Dreyfuss' *Beruf und Ideologie der Angestellten* (Munich and Leipzig, 1933) is richly documented with material from motion pictures and popular literature.

¹¹ A good expression of the non-Socialist point of view is Joseph A. Schumpeter, "Das soziale Antlitz des Deutschen Reiches" [1929], in his *Aufsätze zur Soziologie* (Tübingen, 1953), 224. For a brief analysis of the discussions among Social Democrats about their party's relationship to the middle class and an assessment of their failure to win and retain the allegiance of middle-class voters, see Richard N. Hunt's *German Social Democracy, 1918-1933* (New Haven, Conn., 1964), 134-41.

Republic. Although the size of organizations of salaried employees swelled after 1918, only one of the three major federations of "white-collar unions" was affiliated with the Free Trade Union Federation, the unofficial Socialist labor organization. In 1928 the two federations that cultivated the white-collar worker's feelings of superiority toward the working class had a combined membership twice as large as that of the Free Federation of Salaried Employees.¹²

The postwar inflation was one of the few important domestic economic developments that had an almost identical effect upon most of the diverse strata within the middle class. Small investors and people living on fixed incomes were among the inflation's primary victims. The urban middle class, including members of the free professions such as lawyers, physicians, and architects, lost most of its savings.¹³ As the main beneficiary of the vast depreciation of the mark in 1922 and 1923, big business encountered much of the resentment not diverted to more distant objects such as reparations, the Treaty of Versailles, and the Western Powers. For many a middle-class German the inflation raised a specter of "proletarianization" similar to that which the depression would raise a few years later. The depression intensified but did not initiate the crisis of the middle class. Neoconservative elite theories had become prominent before the depression encouraged many middle-class Germans in the belief that they shared a common fate distinguishing them from other segments of society.

The political development of the Weimar Republic reflected and deepened the discontent of the middle class. The social coalition of the nobility, industrial bourgeoisie, and administrative upper middle class on which the Bismarckian Empire rested had afforded some protection for the immediate economic interests of many middle-class Germans and a greater measure of protection for their social status. While often frustrating their ambitions, the old social coalition had encouraged them to identify themselves with the monarchy and the upper classes and to look down on the working class. The situation in the Weimar Republic was quite different.

¹² See the tables in Ludwig Preller, *Sozialpolitik in der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart, 1949), 204, and Gerhard Bry, *Wages in Germany, 1871-1945* (Princeton, N. J., 1960), 34. A good discussion of the literature that expressed the viewpoint of the non-Socialist unions on the white-collar worker is in Hans Speier's "The Salaried Employee in Modern Society," *Social Research*, I (Feb. 1934), 125-26 *et passim*.

¹³ For excellent analyses of the economic impact of the inflation on the middle class, see Franz Eulenburg, "Die sozialen Wirkungen der Währungsverhältnisse," in *Verhandlungen des Vereins für Sozialpolitik in Stuttgart 1924: Theorie des Klassenkampfes. Handelspolitik. Währungsfrage . . .*, "Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik," CLXX (Munich and Leipzig, 1925), 90-99, and James W. Angell, *The Recovery of Germany* (New Haven, Conn., 1929), 33-39. Although the inflation had salutary economic consequences for such heavily indebted middle-class Germans as peasant proprietors, subsequent changes in the relationship of agricultural to industrial prices furthered heavy new peasant indebtedness.

Social Democrats sat in the highest councils of state. Representatives of big business played a far more obvious role in political affairs than they had under the Empire. The cooperation, however tenuous, of big industrialists and organized labor raised the haunting vision of "deals" at the expense of the middle class. Where the Communist saw "labor opportunism"—the collaboration of corrupt labor leaders with the "class enemies" of the proletariat—the middle-class German was prone to see a partnership of two giants of equal strength.¹⁴

By the late 1920's the middle class was "underrepresented" politically. Within the major parties of the Right, the Nationalist party and the People's party, a decided shift favoring the interests of big business was well under way. Although the Catholic Center succeeded in retaining the allegiance of substantial segments of all social strata, it too felt the pull toward big business. The Democratic party, closely identified with the middle class, had been declining almost uninterruptedly since the high point of its electoral success in 1919. Several new splinter groups organized as outspokenly middle-class interest parties began to appear, but they did not fulfill the great hopes that had greeted their formation. The Nazi party had not yet expanded to fill the partial vacuum by winning the majority of middle-class votes.¹⁵

The insecurity and ambitions of the middle class, as well as the decline of monarchism throughout most of the postwar decade,¹⁶ encouraged the development of elite theories that were both nonmonarchical and highly authoritarian. An open yet authoritarian elite held forth the prospect of minority rule compatible with the immediate interests and predominant sentiments of the middle class. Such an elite would not be a "ruling class." The neo-conservative feared that the establishment of a ruling class would be the equivalent of a dictatorship of the proletariat or of big business.

An elite above all classes would offer long-awaited opportunities to the

¹⁴ Paul W. Massing's *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany* (New York, 1940) has many perceptive comments on the social and political attitudes of the middle class before World War I. The pre-Weimar social coalition is analyzed in Walter Struve, "Elite versus Democracy: The Conflict of Elite Theories with the Ideals of Political Democracy in Germany, 1918-1933," doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1962, 70-93. The relationship between big business and the Social Democrats has not been analyzed systematically. Some of the more suggestive works touching on the subject are Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (3d ed., London, 1961), 363-66, 370-72; Robert Michels, *Umschichtungen in den herrschenden Klassen nach dem Kriege* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1934); Helga Timm, *Die deutsche Sozialpolitik und der Bruch der Grossen Koalition im März 1930* (Düsseldorf, 1952), esp. 13-47.

¹⁵ On the shift within the non-Socialist parties, see *Das Ende der Parteien 1933*, ed. Erich Matthias and Rudolf Morsey (Düsseldorf, 1960), 31-39, 285-91, 524-27, 544-53. For a recent analysis of the "flight" of middle-class voters to the Nazis, see Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* (New York, 1960), 140-49.

¹⁶ See esp. Walter H. Kaufmann, *Monarchism in the Weimar Republic* (New York, 1952), 231-32.

more ambitious members of the middle class and more protection than either the Bismarckian Empire or the Weimar Republic to the less ambitious. Birth and wealth, which the middle class lacked, would not be the almost indispensable prerequisites to high political office, which they had been under the Empire. In Germany politics had come to offer a much better avenue to rapid social ascent than business.¹⁷

Repudiation of the privileges of birth and wealth might assist substantially in obtaining support for the realization of the neoconservative's conception of the ideal elite. For he had to convince middle- and working-class supporters of the republic to assist him in its destruction. He needed allies who might feel that the possibility of becoming a member of an authoritarian elite was preferable to the right to be elected to political office by universal suffrage. He might anticipate support also from the many middle-class Germans who had voted for Left liberal parties before 1918 and for the Democrats or Social Democrats during the first years of the republic, but who subsequently had become disillusioned with democracy. While accepting the great increase in popular pressure against class privileges in the twentieth century, he could invoke the failures of the republic as evidence for the necessity of an authoritarian elite.

Neoconservative elite theories offered a way of maintaining principles of authority that had once been intimately associated with the monarchy; the notion of an open yet authoritarian elite, for example, could draw upon the traditions of the state bureaucracy. The new elite would be responsive to the "true" needs of the people, but would not be held responsible to the people through elections. Like the ideal bureaucrat enshrined in the myth of the "neutral" and "impartial" Prussian administrator, the new elite would be hampered in the execution of its tasks if it were subject to direct popular control.¹⁸

Disenchantment with the principle of hereditary monarchy contributed indirectly to neoconservative elite theories. William II and the former Crown Prince had been highly disappointing to the "hero-worshipping" attitude once closely associated with monarchism in the middle class. Often the demand for an elite accompanied the common cry for a "great leader" to

¹⁷ Bavarian Statistisches Landesamt, *Sozialer Auf- und Abstieg im deutschen Volk*, "Beiträge zur Statistik (Bayerns, No. 117" (Munich, 1930), 117; Michels, *Umschichtungen in den herrschenden Klassen*, 63–66, 79–80; Leopold von Wiese, "Social Stratification and Social Ascent as Problems of Our Time," in *Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification*, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Glencoe, Ill., 1953), 590.

¹⁸ See esp. two studies by Ernst Fraenkel, *Die repräsentative und die plebiszitäre Komponente im demokratischen Verfassungsstaat* (Tübingen, 1958), 41 *et passim*, and "Historische Vorbelastungen des deutschen Parlamentarismus," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, VIII (Oct. 1960), 323–40.

"save" Germany. The widespread conception of Bismarck as a "political genius" promoted longing for his long-awaited successor of equal or greater stature.¹⁹ The failure of such a giant to appear, as well as the weaknesses of contemporary politicians, seemed to indicate the necessity of an elite to provide continuity in leadership.

Zehrer's views were typical of those neoconservatives who placed the need for an elite over that for a "great man." The Germans might be fortunate enough, he felt, to receive a great man to lead the way to the future, but an elite would be far more important than any such "savior." A great man could not do without an elite. If he did not appear—for, after all, his appearance would be a "matter of fortune"—then it would undertake the transformation of Germany by itself. The main burden would, in any event, fall upon the elite.²⁰

Some significant inspiration for neoconservatives came from the desire frequently voiced in many conservative and some liberal quarters since the middle of the nineteenth century for a cohesive ruling group that could create a unified national tradition. The English nobility and gentry often served as models to Germans bemoaning the absence in their own country of a social type that an entire society could emulate. An often unstated assumption in such complaints was that most people would readily follow the dictates of leaders whom they wished to emulate.²¹

Although neoconservative elite theorists agreed in demanding the far-reaching political changes necessary for the rule of an open yet authoritarian elite, their attitudes toward the existing social order diverged. Men such as Oswald Spengler and Edgar Jung sought to maintain the social order largely intact. Others such as Ernst Jünger and Ernst Niekisch contemplated a transformation that would have eliminated part or all of the middle class. The members of the *Tat* circle represented a third point of view, and their position was the most ambiguous. While receptive to the possibility of making significant changes in the social structure, they attempted most directly to solve the immediate problems of the middle class. They were concerned primarily with the frustrations encountered by young, well-

¹⁹ School textbooks used under the Empire, and even under the republic, tended to place great emphasis upon leadership, authority, and "hero worship," but in the textbooks published after 1918 the concept of the "heroic leader" was no longer identified with monarchism. (R. H. Samuel and R. Hinton Thomas, *Education and Society in Modern Germany* [London, 1949], 71-81.)

²⁰ Zehrer, "Rechts oder links?" *Tat*, XXIII (Oct. 1931), 556, "Die Frühjahrsoffensive," *ibid.*, XXIV (Apr. 1932), 13, "Achtung, junge Front! Draussenbleiben!" *ibid.*, XXI (Apr. 1929), 27, "Deutschland ohne Hindenburg," *ibid.*, XXIV (Dec. 1932), 726, "Das Ende der Parteien," *ibid.* (Apr. 1932), 77-78.

²¹ See esp. *id.*, "Die eigentliche Aufgabe," *ibid.*, XXIII (Jan. 1932), 796; Leopold Dingröve [pseud. for E. W. Eschmann], "Eliten," *ibid.*, XXII (Jan. 1931), 801-10.

educated intellectuals like themselves. In the admission to power of such men they found the solution to their own problems, those of the middle class in general, and those of the entire nation.

When Zehrer became the unofficial editor of the *Tat* in the fall of 1929, he and his four major associates had all recently begun, or were about to begin, careers in journalism or education.²² Ernst Wilhelm Eschmann and Giseler Wirsing were still university students. Horst Grüneberg taught in a secondary school. Zehrer and Ferdinand Fried²³ were old enough to have had their educations interrupted by the war. Born in 1899, Zehrer volunteered for military service when he was seventeen. His experiences during the early years of the republic were similar to those of many other postwar university students. As a "short-term volunteer" in the *Reichswehr*, he fought against the Communists and Left-wing Socialists during the disorders following the Kapp *Putsch*. The inflation deprived him of the financial means to continue his studies. By the late 1920's he and Fried held responsible positions on moderate, republican newspapers.

All five men had chosen occupations that became overcrowded long before the depression. Both journalism and education were particularly sensitive to the pressure from an expanding "academic proletariat" seeking suitable employment. Although in Germany journalism lacked much of the prestige associated with positions for which an academic degree was mandatory, the former student who became a journalist could regard himself as much more fortunate than many of his friends. From 1925 to 1931 the number of students enrolled in universities and technical colleges increased by more than 50 per cent. Much of the great increase in enrollments came from the middle class, especially from children of white-collar workers and lower ranking civil servants. These students expected that higher education would furnish them with credentials guaranteeing their "right" to enter professions with a higher social status than those of their fathers. By the late 1920's an average of 25,000 students left German universities each year and competed with one another for less than half that number of available posi-

²² The earlier phases of the magazine's history and the neoconservatism of its publisher, Eugen Diederichs, are discussed in Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism*, 97-99; Harry Pross, *Literatur und Politik: Geschichte und Programme der politisch-literarischen Zeitschriften im deutschen Sprachgebiet seit 1870* (Olten and Freiburg im Breisgau, 1963), 94-96; George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York, 1964), 52-64. The year of Diederichs' death, 1930, is given incorrectly as 1927 in Mosse's book. Zehrer assumed the official editorship of the *Tat* in the fall of 1931. The biographical material in the following paragraphs is derived from four sources: a letter of January 29, 1964, from Zehrer to me; *Wer ist's?* ed. Herrmann A. L. Degener (Berlin, 1935); *Wer ist wer?* ed. Walter Habel (Berlin, 1962); and Sontheimer's "Der Tat-Kreis," 231-33. The biographical material in Sontheimer's article draws upon personal interviews (including one with Zehrer).

²³ He was best known by this pseudonym rather than by his real name, Friedrich Zimmermann.

tions requiring academic training.²⁴ The shortage of jobs for former students contributed to the marked tendency among young university-trained Germans to repudiate democracy; they tended to hold the republic responsible for their insecurity.

The members of the *Tat* circle worked together closely. They all had strong interests in economics, sociology, and politics, but with the exception of Zehrer each man concentrated upon a few special topics. Zehrer wrote the programmatic articles, as well as articles on his own favorite subjects. He sought to attract readers from all political camps. Many prominent scholars and writers, not all of whom were identified with neoconservatism, contributed articles. The impact of the economic and political upheavals after 1929 helped greatly to provide the new *Tat* with a receptive audience. The magazine's circulation increased rapidly from less than 3,000 in 1929 to 25,000 or more in 1933.²⁵

By the 1920's it had become fashionable in many quarters in Europe and America to speak of "the intelligentsia." Zehrer seems to have felt no need to supply a rigorous definition of the term. Implicit in his articles was the assumption that most intellectuals had attended a university, but he did not identify everyone who had acquired a higher education as a member of the intelligentsia.²⁶ In general, he regarded the intellectual as a well-educated individual involved in the production, transmission, or manipulation of "higher" cultural values.

Zehrer integrated into his own elite theory much material derived from the work of Social Democrats and professional sociologists. He used this material to support two basic propositions about modern intellectuals: that an intelligentsia existed as a distinct social stratum and that it performed crucial functions in society.

He found much support for both propositions in the work of the young sociologist Karl Mannheim. Zehrer's programmatic article on the intelligentsia appeared in October 1929 shortly after the publication of Mannheim's *Ideologie und Utopie*,²⁷ perhaps the most searching and certainly the most

²⁴ Svend Riemer, "Sozialer Aufstieg und Klassenschichtung," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, LXVII (July 1932), 552-54; Michels, *Umschichtungen in den herrschenden Klassen*, 58-61; Walter M. Kotschmig, *Unemployment in the Learned Professions* (London, 1937), 118-19.

²⁵ The increase in circulation was especially rapid after 1931. My estimates follow those in the annual editions of *Sperlings Zeitschriften- und Zeitungsadressbuch* (Leipzig, 1928-33). When Zehrer became unofficial editor of the *Tat*, its actual circulation may have been less than a thousand if the estimates given in the following are correct: [Zehrer?] "25 Jahre 'Tat,'" *Tat*, XXV (Apr. 1933), 85; Sontheimer, "Der Tat-Kreis," 232.

²⁶ See Zehrer, "Revolution der Intelligenz," 500.

²⁷ Karl Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie* (1st ed., Bonn, 1929). Much of the secondary literature on Mannheim and the "sociology of knowledge" fails to distinguish clearly between

discussed analysis of the "problem of the intelligentsia" published during the Weimar Republic. Although Mannheim's political sympathies lay with the Social Democrats, Zehrer had great respect for him and borrowed freely from his ideas.²⁸

Following a substantially modified Marxian analytical framework, *Ideologie und Utopie* suggested that directly and indirectly the socioeconomic position of an individual affected the type of ideas that he expounded or adopted. But the thought of an intellectual, Mannheim argued, depended much less directly upon his position in society. Owing to the nature of the intellectual's activities, he could transcend many of the restrictions tending to limit the thought of other men. Unlike many German Social Democrats, Mannheim regarded the intellectual as occupying a largely "classless" position in society; most intellectuals constituted a "relatively socially unattached stratum [*relativ sozialfreischwebende Schicht*]."

According to Mannheim, the intellectual could perform one of two basic roles in society. He could place himself at the disposal of a single class and formulate ideas acceptable to it, or he could act as a mediator between classes and attempt to produce an intellectual synthesis for the entire society. Often Mannheim seemed to advocate that in the future the entire intelligentsia should concentrate upon one of these roles. Yet he hesitated to choose between them. At one point he indicated that the intelligentsia should assist the most deprived strata of society—strata that he identified largely with the working class. On the other hand, he did not want intellectuals simply to renounce their "independence." He raised the possibility that they might work out the basis for a "scientific politics" geared to the existing order and designed to reduce progressively the role of "chance" in the formulation of political decisions.²⁹

The initial stages of Zehrer's analysis differed little from Mannheim's. Beyond all social classes, Zehrer argued, there existed a stratum of intellec-

his earlier works written in Germany and his later works written during his exile in Britain after 1933. For a brief summary of the major periods in his intellectual development, see Urs Jaeggi, *Die gesellschaftliche Elite: Eine Studie zum Problem der sozialen Macht* (Bern and Stuttgart, 1960), 73–80. H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890–1930* (New York, 1958), 418–27, provides a succinct analysis of the early Mannheim's place in German and European intellectual history.

²⁸ Personal ties may have reinforced this indebtedness to Mannheim. When Eschmann and Wirsing began writing for the *Tat*, they were studying at the University of Heidelberg, where until 1930 Mannheim was a lecturer. Eschmann was a pupil of Alfred Weber, another sociologist at Heidelberg who had devoted several studies to the subject of intellectuals. During the period of Zehrer's editorship the *Tat* continued to maintain many contacts with Heidelberg. In a letter to me (Aug. 28, 1961) Professor Hajo Holborn, who was a lecturer at Heidelberg until 1930, writes: "One used to say in Heidelberg that the *Tat* was composed in the cellar of the Insosta (Institut für Sozial- und Staatswissenschaften). This was of course only metaphorically true."

²⁹ Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie*, esp. 122–34, 155–69, 233–50.

tuals who were "inwardly more independent of the actual conditions and values of the times" than other men. The intellectual could place ideas and events within a far broader context. But Zehrer believed even more strongly than Mannheim that the intelligentsia would soon have to make fundamental choices affecting Germany's entire future. Zehrer distinguished sharply between the "normal" and the "abnormal" situation of the intelligentsia. In normal times the intelligentsia constituted a stratum, although its members were dispersed throughout all social classes. A portion of the intelligentsia concerned itself with "things eternal." In abnormal times the intelligentsia drew together and almost formed a social class. Although it would never form a true social class, it might formulate the demands of a single class.³⁰

Zehrer's position permitted him to stress the independence of the intelligentsia only to the point where what he regarded as its basic affiliation with the middle class did not become doubtful. He felt certain that intellectuals could devise a program for one class and simultaneously incorporate into this program values applicable to the whole of German society. The intelligentsia could be "objective [*sachlich*]" and "neutral," while at the same time it developed an intellectual synthesis in which his conception of the needs of the middle class would occupy a central place. The intelligentsia was the only social group that could "feel responsible for the totality."³¹ Exposed to all the tensions within German society, it would forge a coherent system of values for the future.³² Thus Zehrer's position became even more ambiguous than Mannheim's.

Zehrer found many justifications for his belief that the intelligentsia should not hesitate to aid the middle class. He felt that the middle class included the most underprivileged and oppressed segments of the population. Because most members of the intelligentsia originated in the middle class, the two groups, he reasoned, might be regarded as overlapping. Both occupied intermediate positions in society. Despite the intelligentsia's great capacity for independent thought, the fortunes of the middle class affected the intelligentsia rather directly.³³ Furthermore, both were victims of the "revolt of the masses," as Zehrer termed the advances made by working-class movements when a German translation of José Ortega y Gasset's now-famous book supplied him with a catch phrase. The "masses" wanted to derogate the "brainworker" and place him on a level with the manual laborer. Zehrer decried the "senseless plague of leveling" spread by the "masses."³⁴

³⁰ Zehrer, "Revolution der Intelligenz," 489, 493-95, 503.

³¹ *Id.*, "Rechts oder links?" 556.

³² *Id.*, "Revolution der Intelligenz," 495.

³³ *Ibid.*, 496-500, 505-506.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 502; *id.*, "Die eigentliche Aufgabe," 780-84, 795, and "Deutschlands Weg in den

The *Tat* devoted many articles to attempts at clarifying the position of the middle class in Germany and other countries.³⁵ Zehrer called attention to the jeopardy in which political and economic developments since 1918 had placed the German middle class. Two revolutions had collided in 1918. "The unfulfilled liberal revolution of the nineteenth century" had defeated "the antiliberal revolution of the early twentieth century," but without achieving a decisive victory. Big business and Social Democrats had joined hands. The Social Democrats had become conservatives committed to the defense of the existing order.³⁶

In 1928 and early 1929 Zehrer had perceived that substantial segments of big business were increasingly dissatisfied with the economic policies under the alignment of political forces in the republic. He noted a growing trend within big business favoring "economic freedom." In events such as the great lockout in the iron and steel industry during the winter of 1928 and Alfred Hugenberg's rise to leadership of the Nationalist party in the same year, Zehrer saw indications of a demand by big business for laissez-faire policies. He found a struggle between proponents and opponents of laissez faire within each of the non-Socialist parties.³⁷

In his view the middle class was caught between the threat of big business liberalism and proletarian socialism. He feared that in such a situation reactionary forces to the Right of big business or revolutionary forces to the Left of the Social Democrats might gain the upper hand. He predicted that either a restoration or a revolution would ruin the middle class. A restoration of the Empire, in itself disadvantageous to the middle class, would provoke revolution from the Left. Revolution from the Left, which like every revolution would be inimical to the interests of the middle class, would provoke a counterrevolutionary drive for a restoration. Despite these warnings, Zeh-

Engpass," *Tat*, XXIII (Feb. 1932), 861; see also Leopold Dingräve [E. W. Eschmann], *Wo steht die junge Generation?* (3d ed., Jena, 1933), 34-35.

³⁵ See, e.g., E. W. Eschmann, "Der Faschismus und die Mittelschichten," *Tat*, XXI (Feb. 1930), esp. 858; Ferdinand Fried, "Die Spaltpilze," *ibid.* (Oct. 1929), 520-28; Horst Grüneberg, "Mittelstandspolitik—Staatspolitik," *ibid.*, XXIII (June 1931), 191-212; Hans Thomas [Zehrer], "Akademisches Proletariat," *ibid.*, XXII (Jan. 1931), esp. 818.

³⁶ Zehrer, "Rechts oder links?" 542. Especially when writing of an "antiliberal revolution" and "the [future] German Revolution," Zehrer often used the term "revolution" in a rather vague sense. A pamphlet written by Hans Freyer, a well-known sociologist, and published by Diederichs, the *Tat*'s publisher, gives some of the clearest indications of what Zehrer and many other neoconservatives understood by such phrases. Freyer argued that the working class was basically integrated into German society and that the revolutionary bourgeois and proletarian forces of the nineteenth century had exhausted themselves. In the future a revolution of the *Volk*, that is, essentially of the middle class and a part of the working class, would occur. This "revolution from the right" would not follow the pattern of either the French Revolution or the Russian Revolution. Rather than being captured by a social class, the "state" would become a "neutral" agency of the *Volk*. (Hans Freyer, *Revolution von rechts* [Jena, 1931], *passim*.)

³⁷ See Zehrer, "Der Abstieg des deutschen Parlaments," *Tat*, XX (June 1928), 201-206, and "Das Gewitter steigt auf," *ibid.* (Jan. 1929), 782-85.

rer repeatedly assured his readers that neither a revolution nor a restoration would occur.³⁸

He took a special interest in the new middle class. In dramatic terms he described its plight: "There thus arises in all of these strata [of the new middle class] a deep revolutionary resentment, which, springing from a desire for culture and protection from economic misery, is reinforced by a desire for independence from the power of both capital [that is, big business] and the organizations of the masses [that is, working-class unions and parties]."³⁹ Zehrer's readers must frequently have received the impression that the primary task of the intelligentsia consisted in acting as the tribune of the new middle class.

The *Tat* circle designed an economic program for the entire middle class. As early as 1928 and 1929 Zehrer outlined the basic planks upon which he and the other members of the circle elaborated during the depression.⁴⁰ Basic industries, big business, and large banks were to be nationalized. Heavy taxation would break up large concentrations of wealth in private hands. The circle soon adopted the slogan "national socialism" to characterize its economic demands. Despite the Nazis' use of the phrase, it had become increasingly popular in many other quarters during the last years of the republic.⁴¹

The *Tat*'s proposals suffered from the difficulties in formulating a coherent program that would take into consideration the diverse and often contradictory interests of the various strata of the middle class. Even in Zehrer's earlier articles the program was tailored more to the grievances of the urban portions of the old middle class than to the no less anguished complaints of the peasantry and the new middle class.⁴² Always highly ambiguous, the "national socialism" of the *Tat* would have reversed the

³⁸ See, e.g., *id.*, "Bürgerliche Mitte: Kompromiss oder Synthese?" *ibid.* (July 1928), 279-80, "Zwischen zwei Revolutionen," *ibid.* (Oct. 1928), 528-32, "Der Sinn der Krise," *ibid.*, XXIII (Feb. 1932), 942-44, "Revolution oder Restauration?" *ibid.*, XXIV (Aug. 1932), 393, "Worum geht es?" *ibid.* (Oct. 1932), 530.

³⁹ *Id.*, "Revolution der Intelligenz," 504.

⁴⁰ See esp. *id.*, "Achtung, junge Front! Draussenbleiben!" 38-39, and "Die Situation der Innenpolitik," *Tat*, XXI (May 1929), 117-18.

⁴¹ Written from the viewpoint of contemporary West German neoliberal economics, Wolfgang Hock's *Deutscher Antikapitalismus: Der ideologische Kampf gegen die freie Wirtschaft im Zeichen der grossen Krise* (Frankfurt am Main, 1960) provides a brief, clear critique of the economic program of Fried, Werner Sombart, and other proponents of a "national socialism." A historical study of the socioeconomic origins of this and similar doctrines is Herman Lebovics, "A Socialism for the German Middle Classes: The Social Conservative Response to Industrialism, 1900-1933," doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1965.

⁴² This tendency became pronounced in the writings of Fried. He devised plans designed primarily to assist unprofitable small- and medium-sized enterprises to increase their share in the national economy. (See the book that brought together many of his articles, *Das Ende des Kapitalismus* [Jena, 1931], 15-16, 82, 95-96; see also his later articles, esp. "Gestaltung des Zusammenbruchs," *Tat*, XXIII [Mar. 1932], 975-86, "Der Umbau der Wirtschaft," *ibid.*, XXIV [Sept. 1932], 464-67.)

trend toward large-scale, private capitalism, without stipulating a return to early nineteenth-century conditions of small-scale production.

Zehrer believed fervently that world history was approaching a decisive turning point. Using the clichés of the most ecstatic neoconservatives, he depicted the future. Of all the peoples of Europe only "this murky German people still has a great task to fulfill—perhaps the greatest task of all." A "world-redeeming idea" would enable the revival of Germany as a Great Power.⁴³

Through cooperation with the smaller nations of Europe and peoples under colonial rule, a policy that Moeller van den Bruck had helped to popularize, Germany would outmaneuver the Western Powers and the United States. Under the ill-concealed guise of "good Central Europeans," the new Germany would have embarked upon a policy of systematic economic and political expansion in Eastern and Southeastern Europe.⁴⁴

The possible consequences of this expansion were not stated clearly. In general they would have reinforced the results of the *Tat*'s domestic economic program. If the state had already nationalized many large-scale enterprises, small business might gain reduced foreign competition, protected sources of raw materials, and opportunities to expand. For the new middle class, positions as administrators and technicians would have become available outside the boundaries of Germany under the Treaty of Versailles.

The execution of the future German foreign policy presupposed, Zehrer argued, a "revolution" much more far-reaching than the French Revolution.⁴⁵ Germany must undergo a complete intellectual and political transformation to prepare for its new role. Every step in "the German Revolution" would depend upon the activities of the intelligentsia.

Zehrer's intelligentsia had to be prepared to utilize the distress of the middle class for its own purposes. The intelligentsia should develop values to justify its "rightful" place in German society. The application of these values necessitated an opportunistic attitude, for the intelligentsia had to command "battalions," as well as marshal ideas. In order to achieve a predominant position in Germany, it had to ally itself with a social class: "The causes of revolutions are initially and primarily intellectual, and only secondarily economic or political. If the reverse appears to be true . . . it is only because even the mind does not get anywhere by demanding: 'Sire, give us

⁴³ Zehrer, "Achtung, junge Front! Draussenbleiben!" 40, and "Deutschlands Weg in den Engpass," 870.

⁴⁴ See esp. *id.*, "Die 3. Front," *Tat*, XXIV (May 1932), 115. Giselher Wirsing supplied the most detailed proposals for a German dominated area between Russia and France in his *Zwischeneuropa und die deutsche Zukunft* (Jena, 1932).

⁴⁵ Zehrer, "Die Ideen der Aussenpolitik," *Tat*, XXI (May 1929), 108-10.

freedom of thought.' The mind has to have material power for the realization of its ideas."⁴⁶

Directly and indirectly, the intelligentsia would have made all significant decisions affecting German society. By creating highly binding values for all Germans, it would have predetermined the most important decisions. As long as a regime desired to "justify its rule ideologically and to rely upon methods of persuasion," Zehrer believed, it needed the intelligentsia. For the intelligentsia always provided "the material, the idea, and the tendency."⁴⁷

He would also have ensured the predominance of the intelligentsia in the future by having it occupy the most important political positions. Partly because of German political experiences since the failure of the Revolution of 1848 and the feeling of political impotence common among German intellectuals, Mannheim had tended to follow Max Weber in drawing a clear line of demarcation between the political leader and the intellectual. Mannheim had restricted the involvement of the intellectual in the formulation of political decisions to an advisory function. Zehrer, on the other hand, wanted the intelligentsia itself to make political decisions.

His conception of modern political development encouraged his confidence in the possibilities for the intellectual to act as a political decision maker. He interpreted the Bolshevik Revolution as the coming to power of a large part of the Russian intelligentsia.⁴⁸ Robert Michels' studies of modern political parties had contributed to the common German image of the prominence of intellectuals in Latin politics.⁴⁹ Even more important for Zehrer was the belief, which indirectly Michels had helped to encourage, that the establishment of parliamentary democracy in Germany had been largely the work of intellectuals. Although this belief was strongest on the Right of the political spectrum, some Social Democrats also contributed to its diffusion. Thus Hendrik de Man, a Fleming who was closely associated with postwar German political life and whom Zehrer regarded highly, argued that in modern nations intellectuals were coming more and more to make the important decisions: "All movements which crystallize in the form of party organizations share . . . the fate of the state; their guidance passes into the hands of professional specialists who have either sprung from the class of intellectuals

⁴⁶ *Id.*, "Revolution der Intelligenz," 488; see also *id.*, "Wohin treiben wir?" *Tat*, XXIII (Aug. 1931), 342, and "Rechts oder links?" 555.

⁴⁷ *Id.*, "Revolution der Intelligenz," 493-95; cf. the even more explicit formulations by Eschmann in his "Eliten," 799-800.

⁴⁸ Zehrer, "Revolution der Intelligenz," 500.

⁴⁹ Robert Michels, *Zur Soziologie des Parteiwesens in der modernen Demokratie: Untersuchungen über die oligarchischen Tendenzen des Gruppenlebens* (Leipzig, 1911). A second German edition appeared in 1925.

or will become members of that class as soon as they become political leaders."⁵⁰

Political analyses in the *Tat* often resembled a fusion of Vilfredo Pareto's elite theory with slogans from the Youth Movement. Despite the admiration that Zehrer and his friends had for Pareto,⁵¹ they accused him of ignoring the obvious solution to one of the central issues raised by his sociology. They reduced the problem that Pareto had called the "circulation of elites" to the "circulation of generations." Zehrer thought that in normal times intellectuals had no difficulty in obtaining key political positions. Younger men gradually replaced older ones. He complained bitterly that the process of slow replacement had virtually ceased in Germany. Wars, he reasoned, destroyed the normal cycle by which younger men steadily replaced older ones, and lost wars had an especially disruptive effect. After the younger generation of German intellectuals had been decimated on the battlefield, the revolution of 1918 had served to prolong the careers of older leaders. The least worthy members of the old elites had remained in power and had been joined by men accustomed to viewing themselves as "exponents of the will of the masses." The "new generation" of intellectuals had been denied positions of power. As a result, the "best minds" in the intelligentsia had become alienated from the existing order and withheld their services from all political parties. But the members of the future elite could not be held down much longer by the "alliance of capital and the masses." When most of the intelligentsia became fully conscious of its plight, refused to support the republic, and universalized the aspirations of the new middle class, the existing order would crumble. An entire generation of young intellectuals would replace party hacks and calcified bureaucrats.⁵²

The impatience of the *Tat* reflected a tendency, especially pronounced among younger Germans, to reject political parties as ossified impediments to decisive action. Except for the Communists and the Nazis, the parties manifested marked signs of "aging" in their leadership and membership.

⁵⁰ Hendrik de Man, *The Psychology of Socialism*, tr. from the 2d German ed. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York, 1928), 202. I have altered the English translation slightly.

⁵¹ See, e.g., E. W. Eschmann, "Moderne Soziologen: Vilfredo Pareto," *Tat*, XXI (Jan. 1930), 771-79. In this article Eschmann announced plans for a complete German translation of Pareto's magnum opus, the *Trattato di sociologia generale* (1st ed., 2 vols., Florence, 1916), to be published by the publisher of the *Tat*, but the translation never appeared. In 1926 a short résumé of Pareto's sociology written by one of his pupils had appeared in a German translation: G. H. Bousquet, *Grundriss der Soziologie nach V. Pareto*, ed. Gottfried Salomon, tr. J. Goldbaum and R. Moermann (Karlsruhe, 1926). During the Weimar Republic direct knowledge of Pareto's work was limited primarily to a small number of social scientists, although the *Tat* circle's knowledge of it was much more extensive than that of most other neoconservatives. Even less was generally known about the elite theories of Pareto's compatriot Gaetano Mosca.

⁵² Zehrer, "Revolution der Intelligenz," 495-503, "Deutschlands Weg in den Engpass," 861, "Wohin treiben wir?" 342, "Der Weg in das Chaos," *Tat*, XXI (Nov. 1929), 572-75; Hans Thomas [Zehrer], "Die zweite Welle," *ibid.*, 577-82.

Particularly in the Social Democratic party, the average age of members, *Reichstag* deputies, and executive committee members increased appreciably during most of the Weimar Republic.⁵³

Echoing one of the major themes of the Youth Movement, Zehrer emphasized the need for a new elite to develop in temporary isolation from the rest of society.⁵⁴ The new elite would begin in small, closely knit groups that would eventually fuse. Involvement in the existing political order might lead to acceptance of it. The *Tat* followed the predominant mood in the youth *Bünde*, the small organizations of teen-agers and young adults that remained independent of established institutions such as churches and political parties. In the late 1920's the total membership of the various youth *Bünde* was no more than 2 per cent of organized German youth.⁵⁵

Zehrer frequently announced that the final formation of the new elite would begin shortly. He drafted a succession of plans to draw together the intelligentsia. Common to all of these plans were organizational patterns drawn from the experiences of the youth *Bünde*. The *Bünde* themselves were to form the lower levels of the new, "compact" "ruling stratum [*staats-tragende Schicht*]" and supply a reservoir of leaders. Zehrer dreamed of a higher organization above the youth groups. It would consist of the men holding the most important political positions, as well as older members of the youth groups. Like the Teutonic Knights and similar medieval institutions, the models on which the neoconservative notion of an "order" was based, Zehrer's *Orden* was to have a special ethos for its members. This ethos would be predicated upon their moral superiority. It would entail self-denial and "complete dedication [*Hingabe*]." Zehrer refused to acknowledge the possibility of any conflict arising between the ethos of the elite and the values of other Germans.⁵⁶

He also proposed a special organization of the intelligentsia. This organization would overlap in part with the order and the *Bünde*. It too would be centrally organized in order to foster close contact among its members and to ensure its cohesiveness.⁵⁷ All three sections of the elite would thus be united by a common consciousness of their special position and responsibilities.

⁵³ See Hunt, *German Social Democracy*, 71-72, 89-91, 106-11. For one of the most carefully developed expressions of the impatience with parties, see Ernst Jünger, *Der Arbeiter: Herrschaft und Gestalt* (2d ed., Hamburg, 1932), esp. 108-13, 259.

⁵⁴ See Zehrer, "Rechts oder links?" 555-60, "Der Sinn der Krise," *Tat*, XXIII (Mar. 1932), 953-54, "Die eigentliche Aufgabe," 786, 796-99.

⁵⁵ Karl O. Paetel, "Die deutsche Jugendbewegung als politisches Phänomen," *Politische Studien*, VIII (No. 86, 1957), 3; Felix Raabe, *Die bündische Jugend: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart, 1961), 66.

⁵⁶ Zehrer, "Ende der Parteien," 75, 79, "An der Wende der Innenpolitik?" *Tat*, XXIV (Jan. 1933), 826-27, "Die eigentliche Aufgabe," 795-97.

⁵⁷ *Id.*, "Rechts oder links?" 557-59, "Ende der Parteien," 68.

Plans for the corporative and regional organization of society served as a brake upon the power of the elite envisioned by many neoconservatives. Although the *Tat* frequently discussed such plans, it never fully espoused the principles involved in them. Desiring a strongly unified elite, Zehrer stressed the centralizing possibilities in corporatism. He thought that the retention of some elections on the communal level might be desirable, but he assumed that they would have little if any effect upon the composition of the elite.⁵⁸

Nothing was to interfere with what Zehrer described as a *carrière ouverte aux talents*. He contemplated no meaningful popular control over either the selection or the policies of the elite. Since the intelligentsia could presumably ascertain trends in all segments of society, any institutional controls at the disposal of the general public would have been superfluous. The synthesis created by the intelligentsia would have established a set of general values for the entire society. These values would have indicated clearly the decisions necessary for the "common good." The elite, technically open for membership to every German, would have been well insulated from popular pressures which might have tied its decisions simply to the particular interests of a single group. Consequently, the elite would have represented the "true will of the people."⁵⁹ "In the future," Zehrer predicted, "perhaps only a half or a quarter of the people who have been 'making policy' and adding their two bits will have a voice in decisions. But this smaller circle will determine developments more authoritatively and decisively than the masses do today."⁶⁰

While Zehrer was designing the system of the future, he watched current events closely. In the years from 1928 to 1930 he took much interest in the formation of an outspokenly middle-class party.⁶¹ But he labeled these attempts as temporary expedients, and he soon became hostile to any organization faintly resembling the existing parties. He became even more strongly convinced than earlier that the new elite could attain power only after the completion of the "intellectual revolution" and the elimination of "mass organizations." He assured his readers that both of these preconditions would

⁵⁸ *Id.*, "Frühjahrsoffensive," 13, "An der Wendel!" *Tat*, XXIV (Sept. 1932), 451, "Ende der Parteien," 68.

⁵⁹ *Id.*, "Die 3. Front," 109-10; see also *id.*, "Hugenbergs Glück und Ende," *Tat*, XXI (June 1929), 208, "Deutschlands Weg in den Engpass," 861, "Die Revolution von rechts," *Tat*, XXV (Apr. 1933), 10.

⁶⁰ *Id.*, "Die Etappe Papen," *ibid.*, XXIV (Nov. 1932), 632.

⁶¹ See *id.*, "Der Fall Lambach," *ibid.*, XX (Sept. 1928), 464, "Grundriss einer neuen Partei," *ibid.*, XXI (Dec. 1929), 656-60. In 1930, from his desk on the *Vossische Zeitung*, he followed with sympathy the attempts of the *Staatspartei* (a new party formed in part by dissidents from the Democratic party) to establish a broader basis by cooperating with a section of the Youth Movement. (Klaus Hornung, *Der Jungdeutsche Orden* [Düsseldorf, 1958], 102.)

be fulfilled shortly. Intermittently, he drafted plans for a "third front" between the parties of the Left and those of the Right.

Despite the vagueness of many of these plans, the *Tat* circle established ties with several prospective candidates for membership in it. Especially through Eschmann, the circle had since its inception been linked to the German *Freischar*, one of the youth groups most severely torn between political activism and withdrawal.⁶² By the middle of 1932 loose ties had also been established with some *Reichswehr* circles, Otto Strasser's "Black Front," Gregor Strasser's "left wing" of the Nazi party, the German Nationalist Federation of Commercial Employees (*Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfenverband*), and several less prominent organizations.⁶³

Time and again, Zehrer predicted the imminent disappearance of all political parties. In his more optimistic moments he declared that the "masses" had begun to "demobilize" themselves. In his less optimistic moments he complained that the electoral successes of the parties most strongly opposed to the republic might delay its disintegration. Electoral successes might reconcile the Communists and Nazis to the "party system." He implored the latter, whom he referred to as embodying "the first wave" of the "intellectual, cultural, and organizational heritage of the German Youth Movement," to renounce their pretensions to being a mass party. The Nazis, he argued, must return to the notion of a small, exclusive *Bund*.⁶⁴

In 1932 the *Tat* opted for a *coup d'état* to clear the stage for the emergence of the new elite. The notion of a "revolution from above" had become increasingly popular in Right-wing circles after the collapse of the Weimar coalition in 1930. Zehrer and his friends placed their hopes in General Kurt von Schleicher to lead a version of this "revolution." First as "chief" of the army and then as *Reichswehr* Minister in Franz von Papen's cabinet, Schleicher had become deeply involved in the political intrigues of the last years of the republic. His strategic position and his apparent sympathy for

⁶² Hermann Seifert, "Politische Vorstellungen und Versuche der Deutschen Freischar," in *Lebendiger Geist: Hans-Joachim Schoeps zum 50. Geburtstag von Schülern dargebracht*, ed. Hellmut Diwald (Leiden, 1959), 191-95; Walter Z. Laqueur, *Young Germany: A History of the German Youth Movement* (New York, 1962), 148. Zehrer had been a member of the *Altwandervogel* according to the letter of January 29, 1964, which he wrote to me. This group was one of the two major youth *Bünde* that merged to form what would be called in 1927 the *Freischar*.

⁶³ Otto Ernst Schüddekopf, *Linke Leute von rechts: Die nationalrevolutionären Minderheiten und der Kommunismus in der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart, 1960), 326-28, 340, 381; Hans Otto Meissner and Harry Wilde, *Die Machtergreifung: Ein Bericht über die Technik des nationalsozialistischen Staatsstreichs* (Stuttgart, 1958), 74-75; Heinrich Hauser, *Time Was: Death of a Junker*, tr. Barrows Mussey (New York, 1942), 227; Hans Rudolf Berndorff, *General zwischen Ost und West: Aus den Geheimnissen der deutschen Politik* (Hamburg [1951]), 151, 182-83.

⁶⁴ Zehrer, "Die 3. Front," 101, "Ende der Parteien," 75. His colleague Fried pointed to another danger: the Nazis might be "immunized" by subsidies from heavy industry. (Ferdinand Fried, "Kapital und Masse," *Tat*, XXII [Jan. 1931], 798.)

"radical" solutions recommended him to Zehrer. Early in 1932 the *Tat* established a close liaison with the general.⁶⁵ Throughout the next year Zehrer pleaded with increasing fervor for the destruction of the republic by a coalition led by a "neutral" Chancellor with the support of the President, the army, and the ministerial bureaucracy. The hour of the intelligentsia would then have arrived. The "real revolution" would depend upon it.⁶⁶

During the last hectic months of the republic there were some signs that Schleicher might be willing and able to piece together a "third front." The prospect of a split in the Nazi party heartened Zehrer. He hoped to obtain middle- and lower-class support from Gregor Strasser's wing of the party and from the major trade-unions. The *Tat* circle aided Schleicher's attempts to obtain a mass basis.⁶⁷ His negotiations met with some success. Then both Strasser and the head of the Free Trade Unions failed to deliver the support that had been anticipated from them. The political leaders of the Social Democrats blocked the projected entente with the Free Trade Unions, and on December 8 Strasser resigned from his offices in the Nazi party without summoning his followers to join him. Although in the meantime Schleicher had become Chancellor, the vision of a "third front" became a mirage. The Nazis survived the brief Schleicher cabinet with their party intact, and Hitler became Chancellor.

Zehrer tried to salvage what he could from the debacle. With the cooperation of the Nazis, Germany might still, he felt, combine the "revolution from above" with the often postponed "revolution of the intelligentsia." While according some Nazis the right to become members of the future elite, he cautioned against the dictatorship of a political party.⁶⁸ Even after the

⁶⁵ In August 1932, with some financial support from *Reichswehr* funds made available by Schleicher, the *Tat* circle expanded its journalistic activities by taking over the *Tägliche Rundschau*. This small Berlin daily newspaper had been a voice of the German Nationalist Federation of Commercial Employees and the *Christlich-sozialer Volksdienst*, an organization founded in 1929 in part by dissidents from the German Nationalist party. (See Neumann, *Die deutschen Parteien*, 70-72.) Under Zehrer's editorship the *Tägliche Rundschau* assumed temporary importance as a semiofficial interpreter of Schleicher's intentions. (For this phase of the *Tat* circle's activities, see Sontheimer, "Der Tat-Kreis," 248-51.)

⁶⁶ See, e.g., Zehrer, "Die Entscheidung entgegen," *Tat*, XXIV (June 1932), 199, "An der Wende!" 445, 447, "Die Etappe Papen," 632; Hans Thomas [Zehrer], "Der Mensch in dieser Zeit," *Tat*, XXIV (Jan. 1933), 821; Zehrer, "Ende der Parteien," 77, "Die eigentliche Not unserer Zeit," *Tat*, XXIV (Feb. 1933), 926.

⁶⁷ See, e.g., *id.*, "Die Entscheidung entgegen," 201-202, "Revolution oder Restauration?" 389. Unfortunately, Thilo Vogelsang's careful study of Schleicher's activities and intentions leaves many important questions unanswered: *Reichswehr, Staat und NSDAP: Beiträge zur deutschen Geschichte 1930-32* (Stuttgart, 1962), esp. 258, 269, 276-77, 328-29, 340-42, 367. For a detailed analysis of Schleicher's negotiations with union leaders, see Gerard Braunthal, "The German Free Trade Unions during the Rise of Nazism," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, XV (Jan. 1956), 343-47.

⁶⁸ Zehrer, "Revolution von rechts," 15-16, and "Der Umbau des deutschen Staates," *Tat*, XXV (May 1933), 103-104.

Reichstag fire and the March elections, he held forth the hope that the Nazis would accept the imminent emergence of *his* new elite.

Writing under one of his many pseudonyms in May 1933, he expressed himself much more cautiously. He now presented his dream of the future in an essentially spiritual form. The intelligentsia, he suggested, might have to adopt a modern version of monastic withdrawal from society.⁶⁹ In his last article before his own withdrawal to the North Sea island of Sylt, he welcomed the destruction of faith in human progress, renounced the world of men, and turned his gaze to another world. "The masses," he charged, had "seized the rudder" and would remain at the helm for the foreseeable future.⁷⁰

The convincing assertion that Zehrer had "illusions about power"⁷¹ should not obscure the major source of these illusions. The *Tat* circle expressed on a highly articulate level the grievances of social strata to whom Germany's economic and political development offered few meaningful satisfactions, but who could not really accept a radical transformation of the existing social order. Zehrer's conception of a new elite was one of the most symptomatic neoconservative manifestations of this ambivalence. His identification with the fears and ambitions of the middle class led him to expect salvation from an authoritarian elite whose formation was blocked by every other class in German society, as well as by conflicts within the middle class itself. Perhaps in some underdeveloped countries many intellectuals may temporarily become leading members of a political elite similar in certain respects to the one envisioned by Zehrer.⁷² But in Germany intellectuals did not constitute a cohesive and potentially powerful stratum.

⁶⁹ Hans Thomas [Zehrer], "Der Weg der deutschen Revolution," *ibid.*, esp. 128-29.

⁷⁰ *Id.*, "Das Ende des 'Fortschritts,'" *ibid.* (Aug. 1933), esp. 358-64. His friends Eschmann and Wirsing assumed the editorship of the magazine. In two works published shortly after the end of World War II, Zehrer returned to the themes of his last articles in the *Tat*: *Stille vor dem Sturm: Aufsätze zur Zeit* (Hamburg and Stuttgart, 1949), and *Der Mensch in dieser Welt* (Hamburg and Stuttgart, 1948). Zehrer is now editor in chief of one of West Germany's major daily newspapers. With the exception of Grüneberg, the other former members of the *Tat* circle also hold important positions in West German journalism.

⁷¹ Sontheimer, "Der Tat-Kreis," 246.

⁷² Cf. the discussion of the role of "revolutionary intellectuals" in an "industrializing elite" in Clark Kerr *et al.*, *Industrialism and Industrial Man: The Problems of Labor and Management in Economic Growth* (2d ed., New York, 1964), 58.

Decolonization in Indonesia: The Problem of Continuity and Change

HARRY J. BENDA*

THE sudden upsurge of scores of "new states" in Asia and Africa, rendered more vexing by the troubled political constellation of the postwar world, has called forth a spate of new scholarly activity. The relative paucity and inadequacy of much of the relevant prewar literature stand in striking contrast to the public urgency of the quest for an understanding of the global phenomenon presented by the emergence of the new sovereignties. In this quest, the social sciences have unquestionably taken the lead, exploring the many-faceted modernization process in traditional cultures and societies. Anthropological and political science research in the field has yielded notable and often impressive data and new insights, and theoretical sophistication is certainly not lacking to distill from them meaningful generalizations.¹

This brief essay attempts to suggest the kind of contribution that historians may be expected to make—and have perhaps been unduly reluctant to make—to this scholarly "Brave New World." Its major theme, continuity and change in Indonesia, is at first glance old-fashioned enough to dispel such fond hopes. But the purpose of this brief sketch is not primarily to play a traditional historical game or to provide a vaguely "historical perspective." It is, first of all, an endeavor to reintegrate contemporary Indonesia with Indonesian history by drawing attention to, and partly reassessing, the nature and significance of the colonial era. And, second, it constitutes a plea that postwar Indonesian history be viewed in the framework of decolonization. The widely used polar terms of traditionalism and modernization, though generally useful, present an inadequate framework for the manifold

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¹ See, e.g., *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, ed. Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (Princeton, N.J., 1960); *The Emerging Nations: Their Growth and United States Policy*, ed. Max F. Millikan and Donald L. M. Blackmer (Boston and Toronto, 1961); *Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries: Nationalism and Communism*, ed. John H. Kautsky (New York and London, 1962); *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*, ed. Clifford Geertz (Glencoe, Ill., and London, 1963). For an incisive critique of contemporary social science literature in this field, see Ann R. Willner, "The Underdeveloped Study of Political Development," *World Politics*, XVI (Apr. 1964), 468-82.

peculiar characteristics of the decolonization process, characteristics that are by and large absent in the modernization of noncolonial countries. A discussion of Indonesian continuity and change in the specific context of decolonization may thus, hopefully, be of some generic relevance to the study of other societies.

If we take a panoramic view of the past century and a half, the landmarks of change in modern Indonesian history stand out in bold relief. There is, to begin with, the changing pattern of Dutch colonial policy. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the Dutch crown assumed control over the colony after the bankrupt demise of the United East India Company, only to lose that control temporarily to the English during the Napoleonic Wars. The short but even then eventful successive regimes of H. W. Daendels and Sir Stamford Raffles were early attempts at partial administrative modernization under the aegis of French and English liberalism, but, though not altogether abandoned, their liberal reforms were before long overshadowed by Johannes van den Bosch's much-discussed Cultivation System.² Inaugurated in the 1830's and prevailing, though neither uniformly nor unchangeably, into the late 1860's, this colonial policy, born of dire fiscal need at home, in some respects harked back to preliberal modes of colonial control and economic exploitation.

Symbolically, and indeed far more than symbolically, the era of more rapid and more sustained change commenced with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. It enabled regular and, with the advent of the steamship, fast communications between metropolis and colony, an almost revolutionary innovation with far-reaching implications. At the level of colonial policy, 1870 marks the official withering away of the Cultivation System and its replacement by the so-called Liberal Policy. Under it, the government's labor-intensive plantation monopoly made way for the free flow of private capital, for capital-intensive plantation agriculture, for modern extractive industries, for private banking, shipping, and insurance companies.³ The new era in the colony reflected the ultimate victory of the Dutch parliament over the crown in the direction and control of colonial affairs, a process some

² For a recent discussion of some aspects of this system, see Robert Van Niel, "The Function of Landrent under the Cultivation System in Java," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXIII (May 1964), 357-75.

³ See W. F. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition: A Study of Social Change* (2d rev. ed., The Hague and Bandung, 1959), 91-105, and J. A. M. Caldwell, "Indonesian Export and Production from the Decline of the Culture System to the First World War," in *The Economic Development of Southeast Asia: Studies in Economic History and Political Economy*, ed. C. D. Cowan (New York and London, 1964), 72-101.

two decades in the making. In one other major respect is the late nineteenth century significant for colonial and imperial history: for it was only then, with the consolidation of Dutch rule in the "Outer Islands," that the Netherlands Indies proper were born.

At the turn of the century, Dutch colonial policy once again embarked on yet another course, the Ethical Policy, officially proclaimed in the young Queen's speech from the throne in 1901. Without inhibiting the free deployment of Western entrepreneurial and financial skills in the colony, the new policy symbolized the genuine, though in practice never more than half-hearted, humanitarian concern for the welfare of the native population. While the metropolitan parliament continued to determine the rules of the capitalist game in the colony and to worry about the financial balance sheet, a corps of high-minded, expertly trained, and paternalistic civil servants would henceforth endeavor to steer Holland's indigenous wards toward gradual modernization while shielding them from social disintegration, thus justifying Dutch rule in terms of the moral balance sheet. For the next forty years, the dialectic between these two approaches to the colonial problem dominated Dutch minds at home and in the Indies.⁴ But the depression of the 1930's, which destroyed much of the wealth that welfare could tax, put a damper on ethical paternalism.⁵

The most recent and most eventful chapter in Indonesian history opened with the historic catastrophe of Pearl Harbor. Only the major landmarks in the kaleidoscope of rapid change that commenced with the almost effortless destruction of the Netherlands' colonial realm in Asia in March 1942 need to be high-lighted here.⁶ There followed forty months of ruthless Japanese oc-

⁴ A succinct account can be found in B. H. M. Vlekke, *Nusantara: A History of the East Indian Archipelago* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), Chaps. xiv and xv. In the second, revised edition of this work, *Nusantara: A History of Indonesia* (The Hague and Bandung, 1959), the modern colonial period has received briefer treatment. For a Marxist critique, see S. J. Rutgers, *Indonesië: Het koloniale systeem in de periode tussen de eerste en de tweede wereldoorlog* (Amsterdam, 1947). See also J. J. van Klaveren, *The Dutch Colonial System in the East Indies* (The Hague, 1953). Some interesting essays can be found in the more recent, predominantly conservative, symposium, *Balans van Beleid: Terugblik op de laatste halve eeuw van Nederlandsch-Indië*, ed. Henri Baudet and I. J. Brugmans (Assen, 1961).

⁵ See Wertheim, *Indonesian Society*, 105-17.

⁶ No adequate treatment of the Japanese occupation era has yet appeared. Important materials have been incorporated in *Indoneshia ni okeru Nihon gunsei no kenkyū* [A Study of Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia], ed. Kōichi Kishi (Tokyo, 1959). An English translation, deficient in several respects, was published by the Joint Publications Research Organization under the title *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia* (Washington, D.C., 1963). This study's major merit lies in its ample documentation, especially also with regard to the Navy zone of administration. *Nederlandsch-Indië onder Japanse bezetting*, ed. I. J. Brugmans et al. (Franeker, 1960), a Dutch compilation drawn from a variety of contemporary sources, provides more insights into European reactions to the occupation than into internal Indonesian developments. Earlier works in English include Willard H. Elsbree, *Japan's Role in Southeast Asian Nationalist Movements, 1940 to 1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), and M. A. Aziz, *Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia* (The Hague, 1955). See also A. A. Zorab, *De Japanse bezetting van Indonesië en haar volkenrechtelijke zijde* (Leiden, 1954), and the more specialized monographs

cupation, which temporarily separated what it had taken the Dutch so long to unite. The new alien overlords rode roughshod over both the flourishing modern economy and the precariously balanced native economy.⁷ They caused untold damage to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness not only of Nippon's Western enemies but of hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of Indonesians.

At the same time, however, it was this traumatically turbulent interregnum, too, that acted as a social and political catalyst, unloosing the whirlwind of a many-faceted revolution. After Japan's sudden defeat, it culminated in the proclamation of Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945, followed, after two brief but bloody attempts at colonial reconquest, by the consummation of that independence four and a half years later.⁸ A federal republic within a Dutch-Indonesian Union in 1949, Indonesia became a unitary state on the fifth anniversary of its proclaimed independence, almost casually shedding the imperial tie shortly thereafter. No less dramatic were the internal, constitutional changes in the young state. The first republic relied on a strong executive; the second (so to speak) put its faith in a parliamentary, constitutional system; and the third, the authoritarian, presidential republic of Guided Democracy, arose after incipient civil war in the late 1950's, replacing a discredited parliamentarianism that had seen seven cabinets come and go in seven years.⁹ Add to all this the virulence of foreign policy, notably the protracted struggle for West New Guinea (Irian Barat) and the subsequent "confrontation" with the neighboring Federation of Malaysia,¹⁰ and the indexes of change—indeed of progressively accelerated change—assume almost overwhelmingly impressive proportions.

And yet it is difficult, and indeed hazardous, to understand modern Indonesia, the Indonesia of the decolonization era, primarily or exclusively in terms of the record of change that has been, all too briefly, surveyed in the preceding pages. In order to understand these hazards, it is necessary to examine the nature and significance of change since about 1800. These can

by Harry J. Benda and A. J. Piekaar referred to in notes 27 and 30, below. The most recent monographic study is Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Some Aspects of Indonesian Politics under the Japanese Occupation, 1944-1945* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1961), a carefully documented and rewarding account.

⁷ A brief assessment of the economic situation during the war can be found in Wertheim, *Indonesian Society*, 117-21.

⁸ The best account of the Indonesian Revolution is George McT. Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1952).

⁹ These developments are meticulously surveyed and analyzed by Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1963) and in his "Dynamics of Guided Democracy," in *Indonesia*, ed. Ruth T. McVey (New Haven, Conn., 1963), Chap. viii.

¹⁰ For a perceptive analysis, see Donald Hindley, "Indonesia's Confrontation with Malaysia: A Search for Motives," *Asian Survey*, IV (June 1964), 904-14; see also George McT. Kahin, "Malaysia and Indonesia," *Pacific Affairs*, XXXVII (Fall 1964), 253-70.

be summed up under three headings. First, and perhaps most important, quantitatively, the modern era was a very short interlude in Indonesian history; a commonplace caveat, it is nonetheless easily lost sight of by traditional colonial historians and modern social scientists alike. In the second place, there is the qualitative problem of colonial historiography itself: it has tended to magnify the dynamism of the European presence beyond proper proportions, relegating native society to a passive, recipient, and supporting role in the colonial drama.¹¹ Quite apart from the question whether colonial policies were always translated into colonial practice, the fact remains that as often as not these policies concerned the modes of European activities, notably economic, rather than Indonesian activities in the colony. It is, then, only too easy to equate changes affecting European behavior with changes transforming Indonesian society. This is obviously not to deny the existence of change, even of substantial change, within Indonesian society in the course of a century and a half;¹² it merely raises the question whether it proceeded *pari passu* with the recorded changes in colonial policy, and for that matter with changes in colonial rulers. The third problem demanding attention is the direction of change since 1800: we must guard against what might be called the rectilinear fallacy, which presents change as a progressive, cumulative, unidirectional process, a process nowadays often called modernization. But change is a many-splendored thing, and it can move in various, often contradictory, directions. In the following pages, the problems of continuity as well as of quantitative, qualitative, and directional change will be illustrated with a few salient examples.

The relative brevity of the modern era is, indeed, of both quantitative and qualitative significance. Precolonial Indonesian history, that is to say, is not only long, but it formed a general matrix—or rather, a set of matrices—on which the modern era was, as it were, superimposed. One significant aspect of continuity, of repetitiveness even, stands out in bold relief: the spread

¹¹ These methodological problems concerning Indonesian and Southeast Asian history in general were for the first time prominently raised by a Dutch economic historian, J. C. van Leur, whose collected essays appeared in an English translation, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History* (The Hague and Bandung, 1955). See also D. G. E. Hall, "On the Study of Southeast Asian History," *Pacific Affairs*, XXXIII (Sept. 1960), 268–82; John R. W. Smail, "On the Possibilities of an Autonomous History of Modern Southeast Asia," *Journal Southeast Asian History*, II (No. 2, 1961), 72–102; F. J. West, "The Study of Colonial History," *ibid.*, II (No. 3, 1961), 70–82; Harry J. Benda, "The Structure of Southeast Asian History: Some Preliminary Observations," *ibid.*, III (No. 1, 1962), 106–38; J. M. van der Kroef, "On the Writing of Indonesian History," *Pacific Affairs*, XXXI (Dec. 1958), 352–72, and *The Dialectic of Colonial Indonesian History* (Amsterdam, 1963). John D. Legge's *Indonesia* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1964), one of the first volumes to appear in the series "The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective," provides a balanced survey of these, and other, methodological and interpretive problems in Indonesian history.

¹² For the best analysis, see Wertheim, *Indonesian Society*, Chaps. vi, vii, ix, x,

and intensity of Dutch influence in the archipelago in a sense repeated the pattern of an earlier outside influence, that of Indian civilization. Just as it was the heartland of Java that experienced the most profound social, cultural, and political imprint of Indianization, it was that island again that underwent the earliest and most far-reaching economic and political impact of incipient and partial Westernization. This is by no means only a play on words, for this double exposure to foreign contact accentuated a many-faceted dichotomy, if not a certain tension, between Java and the other islands.

The major contours of these two parts of Indonesia—of Java and of what the Dutch with a fine sense of Javacentric continuity called the Outer Territories (*Buitengewesten*)—may be summarized in a few overgeneralized vignettes. Indianized Java centered on wet rice lowland areas, cultivated by a sedentary peasantry whose surplus production supported an elaborate, sumptuous political edifice. At its apex stood a virtually all-powerful god-king reigning in an ornate palace, the *kraton*, a microcosmic replica of the universe. Surrounding the monarch in a stately, stylized, and intricate etiquette was a resplendent, hierarchically ordered court entourage. Yet for all its magnificent splendor, the Javanese realm was politically unstable, fragile, and even brittle.¹³ For as long as he could rule the king's was all the power, all the glory, and all the land; but the polity was not adequately institutionalized for dynastic survival. Instead of a landowning gentry or a feudal nobility exercising territorial administration, a tax-farming, aristocratic bureaucracy collected revenues for the court, mostly at the court, but above all at the whim and pleasure of the ruler. The resultant chronic political instability was in large measure counterbalanced by the profundity and longevity of a transcendental, often mystically tinged, religious world view that found expression in the breathless architectural masterpieces of Indianized Java no less than in the island's cultural and religious traditions, its dance and drama, its Great, and to a significant extent also its Little, Tradition.¹⁴

Non-Javanese Indonesia, with a very few exceptional enclaves, was also by and large non-Indianized Indonesia. It embraced a wide variety of societies and states, large and small, from shifting agriculturists in sparsely populated highland regions to prosperous harbor principalities with bustling, often cos-

¹³ See *Indonesian Sociological Studies: Selected Writings of B. Schrieke* [hereafter cited as *Writings of Schrieke*] (2 vols., The Hague and Bandung, 1957), I, 221; see also Leslie H. Palmier, "The Javanese Nobility under the Dutch," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, II (Jan. 1960), 197-227.

¹⁴ The terminology is borrowed from Robert Redfield's suggestive *Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago, 1956). For Java, see Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe, Ill., 1960), Pts. I and III.

metropolitan, trading and seafaring communities. To give even a thumbnail sketch of such variety is clearly impossible.¹⁵ But these Outer Territories shared a few general characteristics that distinguished them from Java. Most of them had what might be called more robust, more volatile, more secular social and political systems than Java. As against Javanese absolute, divine kingship, theirs was often circumscribed by countervailing—landed, territorial, or mercantile—power. Equally important, where Indianized Java looked inward and upward, Outer Indonesia looked outward; where Javanese culture repetitively looked backward, forever seeking to maintain and retain continuity in terms of past grandeur and perfection,¹⁶ the Outer Islands were not averse to moving forward, to partaking of innovation and of economic and social change. The coexistence, understandably not always peaceful, between these two parts of Indonesia constitutes one important strain in premodern Indonesian history; it is a history rendered even more complex by the fact that even on Java itself deeply Indianized and peripherally Indianized polities occasionally rubbed shoulders.

It is in the context of this coexistential continuity of many centuries that some selected factors of change and continuity can now be examined. The first example, drawn from precolonial Indonesian history, concerns the Islamization of the archipelago. It not only illustrates the dichotomy between Java and Outer Indonesia, but is also relevant to induced, qualitative change in colonial times. Propelled by an as yet inadequately understood dynamism,¹⁷ the new faith started to spread into most parts of Indonesia fairly rapidly between the fourteenth and sixteenth century. But whereas especially in parts of Sumatra, such as Aceh and the Minangkabau region, and also in some of Java's northern trading communities, Islam almost at once struck deep and vigorous roots, in Indianized Java proper it encountered stiff resistance on the part of the *ancien régime*. In Sumatra, religious leaders soon grew into rivals of territorial, secular chiefs; in Java their political ambitions were thwarted by the nominally converted god-kings bent on maintaining the all-inclusive *status quo*. In the middle of the seventeenth century, a veritable Javanese St. Bartholomew's eve reduced the numbers and subsequently the zeal of the surviving ulama, while the island's fanatically Islamic littoral was reduced to political dependence on the Indianized hinter-

¹⁵ An excellent synopsis of contemporary cultural patterns can be found in Hildred Geertz, "Indonesian Cultures and Communities," in *Indonesia*, ed. McVey, Chap. II.

¹⁶ See *Writings of Schrieke*, 76-95.

¹⁷ For an interesting hypothesis, see Anthony H. Johns, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian History and Literature," *Journal Southeast Asian History*, II (No. 2, 1961), 10-23; cf. Cesar Adib Majul, "Theories on the Introduction and Expansion of Islam in Malaysia," *Proceedings of the Second International Conference of Historians of Asia* (Taipei, 1962), 339-97; S. Q. Fatimi, *Islām Comes to Malaysia* (Singapore, 1963).

land.¹⁸ Thus even before the establishment of Dutch hegemony over part of the Indonesian Archipelago, the contrast between Java and Outer Indonesia had once again been accentuated by the division between Javanese continuity and non-Javanese change, between a syncretically domesticated Islam in the one, and a vigorously militant Islam in the other.

Before returning to a discussion of the Islamic problem in the late colonial setting, some other facets of the colonial era may be briefly examined. It should perhaps be repeated that Java was for at least a century and a half if not the only, certainly the most important, part of what only much later was to grow into the Dutch East Indies. Indeed, what a recent historian has so aptly called the "cradle of colonialism"¹⁹ took long to outgrow an infancy spent in an intrinsically Javanese setting. It was only in the mid-eighteenth century that the United East India Company became the island's acknowledged political arbiter, and the road to this reluctant predominance had been strewn with great military and diplomatic obstacles. Nor is this all. It could even be argued that the gradual process by which sovereignty progressively slipped from Indonesian into Dutch hands minimized the shock of the transition, the more so because of the Netherlands' reliance on and utilization of much of the pre-European administrative structure and personnel.²⁰ But obviously there is as much danger in minimizing as in exaggerating the passing away of the old political order and the manifold concomitants of its protracted, agonizing demise.

In the search for continuity and change we are on somewhat firmer ground in looking at some of the things that Dutch rule did and did not do in the course of some two centuries. The old political order had not so much been totally destroyed as it had been decapitated, supplanted by an alien, but not necessarily altogether different, all-powerful sovereignty. Beneath the Dutch head, Indonesian (and also Chinese) arms—notably taxgathering arms—continued to function, to function perhaps more efficiently, if not also more ruthlessly. What is socially important is that it was members of the decapitated political system, the Javanese bureaucratic aristocracy, who served as officials for the new masters. Indeed, if we scan the entire colonial period in Java we can observe one striking fact of continuity: in the course of two centuries the Javanese elite did not move out of its traditional moorings, its bureaucratic habitat. It did not sprout a landed gentry, let alone a class of *nouveaux riches* capitalist entrepreneurs. Equally important, its world view remained basically aristocratic and bureaucratic. This was as true of tradi-

¹⁸ See Vlekke, *Nusantara* (1959 ed.), 175 ff.

¹⁹ George Masselman, *The Cradle of Colonialism* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1963).

²⁰ See John S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy* (Cambridge, Eng., 1944), 258.

tional officialdom as it was of the majority of Westernized Indonesians who came to staff the spreading administrative and technical services of the modern colony in the twentieth century. Thus the changing pattern of colonial policy was by and large irrelevant to Javanese social dynamics. Taken as a whole, the colonial order—whatever its label—did not stimulate the development of countervailing power within indigenous society.

To find important qualitative change, we must turn from politics and administration to economics, the original impetus for Dutch expansion no less than the prime motivating force of modern Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. But it is precisely because economic innovation was introduced by, channeled through, and benefited Europeans, and to a lesser extent Chinese, that the changing pattern of economic organization, as expressed in the various phases of Dutch colonial policy, primarily affected foreigners, not Indonesians. More accurately, the new economic life did affect the livelihood and the ecology of rural Java, but once the original adjustment was made, subsequent developments only cumulatively intensified the old-new pattern without bringing additional, dynamic change to the Javanese peasantry. To put it epigrammatically, the United East India Company gradually converted the Javanese rice tax farm into an increasingly labor-intensive produce tax farm, forcing the peasants to grow and deliver to it exportable tropical commodities. Though the company was replaced by the state, whose cultivation monopoly in turn gave way to the private estate corporation, the symbiotic combination of subsistence and export, especially sugar, agriculture within the village economy, accompanied by an unparalleled population explosion in Java, produced what a brilliant anthropologist has recently termed a process of "agricultural involution."²¹

Yet another process for which the term involution might perhaps be suitable—the lack of innovating and adaptive change within the Javanese bureaucratic elite—has already been referred to in passing. It is indeed far easier to show that colonialism set in motion peasant involution than elite involution; the fact that the equally Indianized aristocratic elite of noncolonial Thailand showed a similar aloofness from economic adaptiveness may suggest that Javanese aristocrats turned their backs on the modern economy, not because of their Western overlords, but because they regarded it as something that simply had no place in their world and world view.²² Thus Java-

²¹ Clifford Geertz, *Agricultural Involution: The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963).

²² Geertz (*ibid.*, 130 ff.) stresses the colonial factor as decisive, drawing what appear unwarranted parallels with Japan. In Cowan's introduction to *The Economic Development of Southeast Asia* (p. 18) the parallel with Thailand is fleetingly attempted and dismissed with the argument that "Thailand's economic development was essentially colonial in type."

nese continuity was perpetuated side by side with a changing, mushrooming, foreign economy. Even this was in a sense nothing new, for the classical Javanese polity had always known the trader as a foreigner—a foreigner to be taxed, regulated, and at best tolerated on the fringes of aristocratic society.

A few words concerning economic modernization in the Outer Islands are necessary. Above all in Sumatra the foreign-created modern economy did not lead to involution but rather to vigorous, adaptive change. Untrammelled by the transcendentalism of an Indianized, aristocratic world order, and benefiting from the introduction of export crops equally amenable to large-scale and small-scale exploitation, Sumatrans managed to survive and prosper in spite of European managerial estate competition.²³ The pattern of disequilibrium between Java and Outer Indonesia thus received fresh impetus—qualitative change augmenting disparate continuity. Under the central umbrella of Dutch rule, the wealth from the Outer Islands could contribute to the fiscal maintenance of the expensive bureaucratic administrative apparatus, both European and native, in Java. This was especially necessary for the costly welfare programs of the Ethical Policy. But while Sumatrans made money and paid taxes, educated Javanese flocked to the new governmental services that administered and spent them.

We may now return to our earliest example of qualitative change, that of Islam. As elsewhere in Muslim lands, Indonesia participated in the dynamic renaissance of Wahabiism and the later reform movements in the Middle East, which the opening of the Suez Canal had brought so much closer to Indonesia.²⁴ Not unexpectedly, these new currents found a ready response among the true believers in the Outer Islands: no disciple of Max Weber will be surprised by the gratifyingly obliging coincidence of economic modernization and religious reformism in parts of Sumatra. But even in syncretic Java, with its traditional aristocratic scorn for Muslim zealotry and separateness, the new Islamic movements rapidly gained ground.²⁵ In part, this was because to become a true Muslim in colonial Java was one way in which to assert one's non-Dutch identity, and, in part, because in cities and towns, and here and there also in rural areas, Weberian commoners had acquired some property and wealth. But in large part, too, it was because of Dutch actions.

Here we find for the first time an important qualitative change within Indonesian society that was induced by a conscious Dutch colonial policy. This policy, however, was itself a departure from earlier Dutch practices

²³ Geertz, *Agricultural Involution*, 114–23.

²⁴ See Wilfred C. Smith, *Islam in the Modern World* (Princeton, N. J., 1957), Chap. 11.

²⁵ See Wertheim, *Indonesian Society*, 207–26, and "Religious Reform Movements in South and Southeast Asia," *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, VI (July-Dec. 1961), 53–62.

vis-à-vis Islam—practices in large measure derived both from preconceived, erroneous European notions regarding that religion and from many bitter encounters with Muslim-inspired and Muslim-led rebellions in many parts of the archipelago. In the Javanese context, Dutch suspicions of and hostility to Islam thus once again seemed to perpetuate and strengthen the aristocracy's hostility toward the ulama. But by the end of the nineteenth century—at the time when the Netherlands Indies became in several respects conspicuously more Netherlandic and less Indonesian—the principle of religious freedom that had made Holland for centuries so famous a refuge for dissenters was applied to the colony's non-Christians. As the founder of the new Islamic policy, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, observed, the *Pax Neerlandica* in a modern Netherlands colony would inevitably help to strengthen Indonesian Islam.²⁶

This new Islamic policy, then, constituted a real and significant break with Javanese history, a truly qualitative change: by the end of the nineteenth century, the Dutch had ceased to play a Javanese game; in spite of several difficulties, they did not by and large interfere with the growth of modern Muslim movements.²⁷ And, bereft of an Indonesian, Javanese, sovereign, neither traditional nor modern indigenous elite groups could stem the Islamic tide.²⁸ It was left to a far cruder, exploitative Japanese Islamic policy to augment Islamic strength with financial, organizational, and, toward the close of the Pacific War, even with paramilitary support and thus to turn it into a major political power factor.²⁹ Javanese Islam had indeed come a long way from its inglorious St. Bartholomew's eve two centuries ago. But it had, paradoxically enough, covered this long distance with a goodly dosage of infidel help. It goes, finally, without saying that both late Dutch and Japanese policies, in spite of many contradictions and vicissitudes, likewise helped to bolster Muslims in the Outer Islands to the point

²⁶ See Harry J. Benda, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia," *Journal of Modern History*, XXX (Dec. 1958), 338–47.

²⁷ This interpretation differs from the analysis that I presented in *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation, 1942–1945* (The Hague and Bandung, 1958), Pt. I. In that study, I stressed the inevitable dilemmas that Snouck's Islamic policy encountered and that seemed to jeopardize its implementation in the twentieth century. Obviously my implicit assumption then was that the growth of Islam, especially in Java, was in the nature of things, that it constituted a progressive, cumulative change in Javanese history. My present vantage point—several years in the making—leads me to doubt that assumption. For an acute French critique of Dutch Islamic policy, see G.-H. Bousquet, *La politique musulmane et coloniale des Pays-Bas* (Paris, 1938), 51–56. A recent Dutch appraisal, written by a former colonial official in charge of Muslim affairs in the Indies, is G. F. Pijper, "De islampolitiek der Nederlandsche regering," in *Balans van Beleid*, ed. Baudet and Brugmans, 209–22.

²⁸ For a penetrating study of the contrasting situation in British Malaya, see William R. Roff, "Kaum Muda—Kaum Tua: Innovation and Reaction among the Malays, 1900–1941," in *Papers on Malayan History*, ed. K. G. Tregonning (Singapore, 1962), 162–92.

²⁹ See Benda, *Crescent and the Rising Sun*, Pt. II, and C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Aspects of Islam in Post-Colonial Indonesia* (The Hague and Bandung, 1958), 109–60.

where they could here and there, as in Aceh,⁸⁰ temporarily gain the upper hand in the struggle for political supremacy.

Our last example is again drawn from this penultimate chapter in Indonesian history, the final four-odd decades of foreign overlordship, and it illustrates some of the interpretational problems connected with directional, cumulative change. The example is the politically active Western-educated intelligentsia, the standard-bearer of Indonesian nationalism in colonial times, most of whose members have become the new state's political elite in the era of decolonization. Socially and ethnically, this intelligentsia was by no means a homogeneous group; it contained, in addition to a sizable Javanese, largely aristocratic, contingent, a disproportionate number of Sumatrans and, of course, many others.⁸¹ But the factional and ideological disputes that have left such deep marks on the history of Indonesian nationalism owed more to the frustrations inherent in the oppositional politics conducted in the hothouse atmosphere of the colonial capital than to ethnic and regional differentiations within the intelligentsia. Those who entered Batavia certainly did not abandon hope; the contrary was the case. But they often did abandon parochial ties, the more readily since these ties were by and large politically irrelevant. Actually the institutions of higher learning and those of meaningful colonial politics, both creations of the Ethical Policy, centered in Java, not in the Outer Islands. Modern nationalism had no viable "electorate" outside the cities, and even then only a small one outside Batavia. Inevitably, therefore, to belong to the modern Indonesian political intelligentsia meant to belong to the political culture peculiar to the capital city.

That culture was a mixture of continuity and change, of predominantly Javanese continuity adapting itself to Dutch change. If it was predominantly Javanese, this was only partly so on account of the undeniably strong Javanese component within the political elite; partly, certainly, also because of its political domicile; but largely perhaps it was due to the sheer strength of the Javanese political tradition, Indonesia's most glorious and most viable Great Tradition that had perdured in a more or less unbroken line into the era of colonialism. There are, however, additional reasons for this Javanese character of the modern Indonesian political culture. Sociologically by no means homogeneous, the new political elite yet as a group did not differ too profoundly from its traditional Javanese counterpart. Though for the greater part shunning administrative positions, most Western-trained intellectuals

⁸⁰ See the excellent monograph by J. A. Piekhaar, *Atjeh en de oorlog met Japan* (The Hague and Bandung, 1949).

⁸¹ See Soelaeman Soemardi, "Some Aspects of the Social Origin of Indonesian Political Decision-Makers," *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology* (London, 1956), 338-48.

were essentially bureaucratically oriented, if for no other reason than that they did not represent, factually as well as figuratively, a "secular," property-owning class. And this, in turn, obviously had its ideological concomitants: Indonesian colonial nationalism, with a few exceptions, approached social and economic problems managerially and manipulatively. This was the easier since the country's modern economy was, as we saw, in foreign hands, but also since twentieth-century Dutch welfare policy took an intrinsically similar, regulatory attitude toward society and economy.³²

An indigenous component with long, Javanese roots must, then, be added to the often observed socialist orientation so prevalent among the majority of Indonesian nationalists. As a quick glance at the Philippines, for example, shows, there is a priori nothing natural about nationalism turning socialist in a colonial setting. But this coalescence does easily arise if and where nationalist leaders do not, as our eighteenth-century forebears would have phrased it, have a real stake in the country's wealth. R. H. Tawney wisely observed that Karl Marx was the last of the great Schoolmen; he could have added that he also was one of the last great aristocrats, despising, as only aristocrats of Bismarck's kind can, the capitalist Babbitts of the post-aristocratic world. Javanese socialism thus to a significant degree expresses the Javanese aristocracy's contempt for the alien's capitalist economy as well as its unwillingness to make room for the native capitalist, especially the native Muslim capitalist, and least of all, perhaps, the non-Javanese, Outer Island Muslim capitalist. But for obvious reasons the aristocrat (true Javanese blue or *assimilado*) spake, not in the language of tradition, but with the fiery, modern tongues of Karl Marx, Nikolai Lenin, and their radical or more moderate Dutch disciples: in the twentieth century, educated Indonesians had started to play a European game according to European rules.

For psychological no less than tactical reasons the political elite had no choice but to play a European, modern Dutch game. It had to adopt the political party with its elaborate Dutch type of organizational pattern, the Dutch proclivity for the multiparty system and even for "confessional" parties, the nicely legalistic rhetoric of parliamentary disputation. More important, Indonesian nationalism could not but choose liberal democracy as its final goal, compelled by the paradox of Western colonialism's Achilles' heel. It is true, of course, that there were some few voices to speak, even then, in terms of Indonesian, sometimes of Islamic, rather than of European, models. But they, together with the silenced propounders of Soviet models, lived, or were forced to live, outside the political culture of the modern, Dutch

³² See John S. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India* (Cambridge, Eng., 1948), 230-36.

capital. But the political leadership of Batavia, fissiparously divided though it all too often was on whether its members should play the Dutch game inside or outside the institutions provided by the colonial regime, was seemingly and vociferously agreed that the shining goal of its aspirations would, indisputably, be the liberal, democratic nation-state.

The rectilinear fallacy starts from this seemingly self-evident assumption. It has endowed the history of Indonesian nationalism not only with a spontaneously modern mass base but also with an irresistibly cumulative, democratic, forward momentum.³³ To assert that this is a misreading of the facts is not to argue that Indonesian nationalism was rootless or that the Indonesian intelligentsia was necessarily nondemocratic. The point, rather, is that the degree and extent of the Westernization of Indonesian social, political, and ideological evolution have been vastly exaggerated. To speak of the Indonesian intellectual as a brown Dutchman, as *colons* sometimes derisively and condescendingly did in their clubs, or to dub him, in the scientific jargon of our day, "anomic," *deraciné*, without roots in his own culture—these are at best convenient half-truths.³⁴ They overlook the fact that it was the compelling and constricting artificiality of the colonial framework that forced the intelligentsia into a psychological and political one-way street, as the price for what little self-respect the foreigner graciously allowed it to retain in its own country.

How easily liberalism and democracy could be abandoned by so many, though certainly not all,³⁵ Indonesian political leaders became apparent when the rules of the game abruptly changed from Dutch to Japanese. Of course it is unfashionable to suggest that "collaboration" with the Japanese was more than superficial, the result of dire necessity.³⁶ But without in the least indulging in Pan-Asiatic, Coprosperity Sphere romanticism, there is no inherent

³³ This "rectilinear" reading of the history of Indonesian nationalism has predominated in most postwar writings on Indonesia. See esp. J. M. Pluvier, *Overzicht van de ontwikkeling der nationalistische beweging in Nederlandsch-Indië in de jaren 1930 tot 1942* (The Hague and Bandung, 1953); Alexandre von Arx, *L'évolution politique en Indonésie de 1900-1942* (Fribourg, 1949); for a critical treatment, see Legge, *Indonesia*, Chap. vi.

³⁴ No study of the Indonesian intelligentsia has as yet appeared. For an illuminating essay on its Indian counterpart, see Edward Shils, *The Intellectual between Tradition and Modernity: The Indian Situation* (The Hague, 1961). Many important observations can be found in Feith, *Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*, Chap. iii *et passim*.

³⁵ The prime exception was Sutan Sjahrir, a thoroughly Westernized socialist, and later Prime Minister in the early years of the Indonesian Republic. Sjahrir's autobiographical work, *Out of Exile* (New York, 1949), has influenced many Western scholars who have tended to overlook the fact, subsequently borne out by the Indonesian elections of 1955, that Sjahrir and his democratic Socialist party represented a miniscule segment of the Indonesian electorate, and only a minority among the political intelligentsia. (See Herbert Feith, *The Indonesian Elections of 1955* [Ithaca, N. Y., 1957].)

³⁶ Such a "Europocentric" interpretation of the occupation era can be found, among other places, in Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, 101-33, and in Dorothy Woodman, *The Republic of Indonesia* (New York, 1955), 173-98.

reason why the Japanese would-be monolithic political model should have touched fewer responsive Indonesian chords than the divisive Dutch one, and why the adumbration of the one should be labeled original sin, of the other, original virtue. By now we should start to understand how relatively irrelevant both really were to Indonesians.

Decolonization bears a qualitative significance whose manifold ramifications we have been very slow to apprehend. So firmly were we in the grips of the rectilinear fallacy that we confidently expected the democratic—some of us, indeed, the Islamic—consummation of the Indonesian Revolution once it was freed from the shackles of an authoritarian Japanese militarism. We applauded the return to democratic “normalcy” in 1946; we expectantly hailed the free elections of 1955; and we were stunned when democracy, having been successfully put to the test, evaporated three years later. We were agonized to watch increasing political and ideological polarization pitting party against party, orthodox Muslim against syncretically nominal Muslim, if not against anti-Muslim,³⁷ and finally Outer Indonesia against Java.³⁸ And with increasing alarm we have seen the economic indexes of Indonesia’s prosperity decline after the expropriation of the foreign, capitalist economy and its subjection to bureaucratic-military controls,³⁹ amidst the unabated forward march of agricultural involution and rising population pressure. The portents of imminent catastrophe multiplied when fratricidal war threatened Indonesian unity and when subsequently Guided Democracy flexed its muscles in international confrontations.

But essentially what we have witnessed is the agonizing, difficult adjustment of Indonesia to its own identity.⁴⁰ It is not, of course, anything quite as simplistic as a return to premodern, pre-Western continuity. It is, rather, a selective process of adapting resurgent continuity to a changing reality.⁴¹ It may be suggested that, substantially, the Javacentric—or really Djakarta-centric—polity is recapturing some of the political facets of the past, some of them in Western eyes distinctly less palatable than others. If it is intensely bureaucratic, cavalierly disdainful of economic rationalism, vengefully re-

³⁷ See Robert R. Jay, *Religion and Politics in Rural Central Java* (New Haven, Conn., 1963).

³⁸ For a brief but lucid analysis of the Outer Island revolts against the central government in the 1950’s, see Herbert Feith and Daniel S. Lev, “The End of the Indonesian Rebellion,” *Pacific Affairs*, XXXVI (Spring 1963), 32–47.

³⁹ See J. A. C. Mackie, “Indonesia’s Government Estates and Their Masters,” *ibid.*, XXXIV (Winter 1961–62), 337–61, and Panglaykim, “Indonesian State Enterprises and Worker-Management Councils,” *Asian Survey*, III (June 1963), 285–89.

⁴⁰ See Justus M. van der Kroef, “Indonesia’s ‘Identity Revolution,’” *Topic*, VI (Fall 1963), 5–18.

⁴¹ For a similar assessment of developments in India, see, e.g., C. H. Heesterman, “Tradition in Modern India,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, CXIX (No. 3, 1963), 237–53.

pressive of Islamic competition,⁴² jealously assertive vis-à-vis the Outer Islands, and, finally, grandiosely exuberant in foreign affairs, it is in the final analysis only acting out its own logic. If its charismatic President has shed constitutional restraints and surrounded himself with a glittering palace entourage in the midst of accelerating poverty, if he is seeking ideological, magical formulas to restore the realm to harmony and balance, he is surely less Machiavellian than Javanese.⁴³ And what is true of him is by no means true of him alone; it may in paradoxically equal measure even apply to such outwardly modern dramatis personae as the Indonesian officers corps.⁴⁴

Whatever Guided Democracy may be—and it has had more than its full share of adulation at home and vituperation abroad⁴⁵—at least it is undeniably Indonesian, for better or worse. One by one, most of the artificial dams, economic, political, but above all psychological, of foreign overlordship are breaking down.⁴⁶ The Indonesian river is flowing more and more in an Indonesian bed; the game being played is, once again, Indonesian. This, though it may smack of historicism, may well be the true meaning of the first phase of decolonization in Indonesia.

⁴² The major Islamic party, *Masjumi*, which had obtained the second largest electoral vote in 1955, was proscribed by presidential decree in 1960. I have traced Indonesian Islamic developments in a chapter on twentieth-century Southeast Asian Islam in the forthcoming "Cambridge History of Islam."

⁴³ See Herbert Feith, "Indonesia's Political Symbols and Their Wielders," *World Politics*, XVI (Oct. 1963), 79-97.

⁴⁴ On the military, see Guy J. Pauker, "The Role of the Military in Indonesia," in *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries*, ed. John J. Johnson (Princeton, N. J., 1962), 185-230, and Daniel S. Lev, "The Political Role of the Army in Indonesia," *Pacific Affairs*, XXXVI (Winter 1963-64), 349-65. The extent to which even the Indonesian Communist party may be affected by "domestication" is a matter of considerable controversy. See Ewa T. Pauker, "Has the Sukarno Regime Weakened the PKI?" *Asian Survey*, IV (Sept. 1964), 1058-70.

⁴⁵ The most outspoken American criticism can be found in Willard A. Hanna, *Bung Karno's Indonesia* (New York, 1961). For a balanced appraisal, see Jeanne S. Mintz, *Mohammed, Marx and Marhaen: The Roots of Indonesian Socialism* (New York, Washington, D.C., and London, 1965), Chaps. viii-xi.

⁴⁶ See Harry J. Benda, "Tradition und Wandel in Indonesien," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, XIV (Jan. 1963), 46-53, and "Democracy in Indonesia," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXIII (May 1964), 449-56.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

THE HISTORY OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE. By *Paul Einzig*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 319. \$7.50.)

THIS tour de force compresses into just over three hundred pages an account of foreign exchange practices, rates, theory, and policy from Babylonia to the early 1960's. This long time span is treated in five periods: ancient, medieval, early modern, nineteenth century, and the years since 1914.

Einzig was for thirty-five years a London financial writer and correspondent, whose books number, according to the jacket, forty-eight. Some of these are important scholarly works, including the present volume. No one else has ever attempted such a comprehensive history of foreign exchange.

He has succeeded remarkably well, and in several ways. He has covered the vast ground and written in generally intelligible terms, relating foreign exchange practices and theories to pertinent events and discussing their interrelations. And he has indicated sources in ways that will help readers to find other fuller discussions of particular matters. All this he has accomplished without overgeneralization. But as the discussion approaches the present time it becomes progressively more summary, and I would quarrel somewhat with his treatment of the years since World War II. For instance, I think he gives too little importance to new international cooperative machinery, both that already functioning and proposed new devices that have been under debate for some years.

In his brief concluding chapter, Einzig expresses views on the importance of foreign exchange and the success of its evolution: "The improvement of the Foreign Exchange system through the ages has greatly reduced the extent to which national sovereignty in the monetary sphere handicaps progress towards closer economic, technological, cultural integration across national frontiers. During the Ancient and Medieval Periods, and even in much more recent centuries, national monetary systems were largely isolated from each other by the absence of an adequate market mechanism. Thanks to the progress of Foreign Exchange this is no longer so to anything like the same extent as in the old days."

It is probably useful for historians, as it is for economists and for practitioners of foreign exchange, to have a brief survey of the long history of such a narrow subject as this. For one thing, the progressive currency inflations that have occurred through the ages with relatively short interruptions show sharply in the foreign exchange market with repercussions that a specialist would expect, but that have been far more pervasive than others may realize.

I would like to see more effort go into finishing and polishing significant books such as this. The handful of typographical and grammatical errors I noticed are not a major problem. But care could have corrected the few places where Einzig seems to be mistaken and could have clarified where that was necessary. Many readers will regret the grossly inadequate subject index and the lack of explanations and elaborations that might have helped the reader, especially the noneconomist. Still, we should be grateful that this book shows once again Einzig's great familiarity with this general subject and his capacity to be brief, clear, and precise.

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

WARREN S. HUNSBERGER

THE CONQUEST OF THE MATERIAL WORLD. By *John Nef*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 408. \$8.95.)

PROFESSOR Nef's new book is a series of related essays. Though he has covered much of the same ground in earlier works and though the book does not live up to its rather sweeping title, it does provide much useful information, a series of important insights, and healthy corrections to some accepted views.

The first chapter deals mainly with mining in Europe from Roman times to the early sixteenth century. The second covers industry in the period from about 1515 to 1540. The eighth chapter discusses and contrasts economic developments in France and England from 1640 to 1789 and the influence of this experience on the thought of the authors of the Constitution of the United States. In the final chapter, Nef considers the relationship of science and religion in shaping our present views of history and the world situation, using some fascinating correspondence between Tocqueville and Gobineau as a springboard. The five middle chapters consist largely of comparisons and contrasts in the industrial development of France and England from 1540 to 1640, together with attempts to understand and explain the differences.

It is the author's thesis that England experienced a very rapid and important growth in large-scale industry in the century following the death of Henry VIII, that in this period English per capita output came to surpass considerably French per capita production, and that the English Industrial Revolution, if indeed the term is useful, is to be understood as a long process with two periods of accelerated progress: 1540-1640 and the years after 1785. In his view of the Industrial Revolution, Nef is certainly much closer to the truth than Mantoux, though it can also be argued, as L. C. A. Knowles did, that the really revolutionary period in British industry was from about 1815 to 1860 or 1870.

The author finds partial explanations of Britain's faster development during the century preceding its Civil War in a new emphasis on quantity as opposed to quality, in utility as against artistry, in the greater freedom for English businessmen, in the more practical approach of British science, and in the fact that many of the developing industries and techniques were new to England (as in the production of iron, alum, beer, glass, paper, and so forth). One crucial factor was that

the English were early driven to the use of coal on a large scale by the growing shortage of wood.

In dealing with the Weber thesis on the relationship of Calvinism and capitalism, Nef is most charitable, for he points out that adequate knowledge of the early developments was not available to that sociologist. Similarly he discounts the Hamilton-Keynes theory as to the importance of profit inflation during the price revolution as a stimulus to industrial capitalism, though here it is clear that he does not sufficiently take account of the importance of internal and foreign wars and disorders in holding back France, especially from 1575 to 1600. It could in fact be argued, as the author does not, that the differences in French and English industrial development from 1540 to 1815 arose chiefly from the fact that France was almost continuously involved in wars and subject to invasion, while England, with the exception of the Civil War, enjoyed internal peace.

Amherst, Massachusetts

CHARLES W. COLE

THE AGE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION: A POLITICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE AND AMERICA, 1760-1800. Volume II, THE STRUGGLE. By R. R. Palmer. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 584. \$10.00.)

THIS second volume completes Robert R. Palmer's important study of the political development of Europe and America between 1760 and 1800. Nothing closely resembling it has been done before. It is not a conventional synthesis or even a full narrative of political history but rather an intricate and richly documented interpretive essay. The "democratic revolution" that the author finds central to the age was a general flare-up of attacks on "older forms of social stratification and formal rank" and on "the possession of government, or any public power, by any established, privileged, closed, or self-recruiting groups of men." The form and intensity of these attacks varied from place to place within the old European social and political system and its benign extension in America. Palmer's first volume, which appeared in 1959, analyzed widely separated yet relevant phenomena such as enlightened despotism, the Polish constitution of 1791, problems of British parliamentary reform and imperial reorganization, and the American, Belgian, and French Revolutions. By the starting point of the present volume, the summer of 1792, the democratic "challenge" had been largely unsuccessful; the outcome was in grave doubt in Poland and France, and even in the United States much remained to be done, as, for example, the solidification of national parties. A great "struggle" lay ahead, not merely between France and Europe but between older and newer versions of society and politics.

In this struggle a new democratic order reached its high point in 1798 in a *Grande Nation* surrounded by sister republics. Along the way the Terror had played a role more easily understood if one remembers that France was the only country that sustained a democratic revolution without outside help and the only

one whose leaders allied with sans-culottes and then faced the problem of disciplining them. This sans-culotte wing of the democratic revolution was a popular movement distinguishable from the later conspiratorial radicalism of Babeuf. With the Terror, Robespierre and his friends fought for survival of the democratic revolution, clinging the more desperately to their austere vision as the costs of procuring it mounted. In Palmer's view Thermidor opened a more practical way forward in domestic politics and made France a better competitor for men's minds in the European contest.

This wider contest is the principal subject of the book and the occasion for its most substantial contribution, valuable as are the chapters on France, in which the author of *Twelve Who Ruled* assesses the recent work of Godechot, Soboul, Cobb, and others. In an unhurried exposition based on monographs in many languages and full of historiographical reviews and apt comparisons one finds a comparative study of democratic movements together with analyses of the regions where they were weak or nonexistent. There was no international conspiratorial network of the kind denounced by conservative publicists. French governments were surprisingly realistic and moderate about promoting world revolution; indeed, the author characterizes Robespierre's policies as a kind of "revolution in one country first." France's sister republics were not mere conquests, but the very fact that French aid was needed and solicited by indigenous democratic movements made involvement and exploitation easier, and greatly complicated both French domestic politics and international affairs.

Discussions of the term "democratic revolution" have aroused much interest. With all of the evidence before us, this characterization of the age as one of challenge and struggle over questions of social leveling and political liberty appears to be very appropriate. There is some awkwardness in the word "democratic," for although one adapts readily enough to eighteenth-century usage in the matter of suffrage, it is less easy to feel comfortable with a "democratic" movement that often "stressed the equalization of rights more than the liberty of self-government"; with the door open a crack, the enlightened despots and Napoleon threaten to slip in, against the author's intent, while he is pronouncing England counterrevolutionary. The difficulty is that the extension of social equality and the shift toward representative government did not always occur together; yet both were important to modernization in the sense of the democratic revolution. There is no problem so long as one remembers that it was not the triumph of the democratic revolution, but the posing of the question, that counted. The push toward equality and political liberty excited the whole Western world and influenced even those regions such as Austria and Russia where the chief outcome was inoculation against change. Where the "struggle" failed to materialize, the "challenge" alone made history.

Swarthmore College

PAUL H. BEIK

NATIONALISM: PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE WORD, THE CONCEPT AND CLASSIFICATION. By *Aira Kemiläinen*. [*Studia Historica Jyväskyläensia*, Number 3.] (Jyväskylä: Kustantajat. 1964. Pp. 252.)

BECAUSE the books by Carlton J. H. Hayes and Hans Kohn on nationalism are basic, students of the phenomenon must and do examine them. Kemiläinen, a Finnish archivist and historian, devotes the major portions of his book to detailed analysis of their works, especially to the differences in their concepts and interpretations.

To introduce his analysis, he meticulously examines Latin, German, English, and French definitions of the word "nation" and allied words such as "people" and *volk*, and he describes a rising national consciousness in the eighteenth century as well as later changes in nationalist thinking in Germany and the United States. For his study he has read the chief works on nationalism, compared definitions in numerous encyclopedias and dictionaries, and dipped into little-known books, as Zimmerman's eighteenth-century essay, *Vom Nationalstolze*. He does not seem to have sampled the voluminous publications now jamming library shelves on new nations and nation building in Asia and Africa.

Kemiläinen believes the Kohn dichotomy of Western, state, democratic nationalism and Eastern, cultural, authoritarian nationalism too simple. He tends to favor the historical classifications of Hayes: humanitarian, Jacobin, traditional, liberal, and integral nationalisms. In so far as he classifies himself, he follows the less rigid stages (rather than types) described by Lemberg, Shafer, and Carr. One of the purposes of his book he describes in a rather obvious generalization: "to show that nationalism as a nationalist attitude and nationalist theory has been a common phenomenon all over Europe, and also outside Europe, since the 18th century."

I admire the author's knowledge of European languages and his painstaking research which, through its exhaustive nature, reveals the differing and confused meanings given to nationalism. I value the cautious analysis of the Kohn dichotomy and the historical classifications of Hayes. I agree with Kemiläinen that most studies on nationalism, including those of Kohn and Hayes, have been too concerned with political ideas, that the Kohn dichotomy may be too "simplified," and that the nationalisms of Europe probably have more in common than patriots acknowledge.

These comments should not conceal my conclusion that the book adds little to our knowledge. Too often it strings together odd bits of information as it plods along to safe conclusions. Kemiläinen cites an English dictionary on German writers: "several have indeed rendered themselves remarkable only for their labour." This verdict would be unjust for the present work, but Kemiläinen's book is distinguished chiefly by the immense labor that went into its compilation.

Macalester College

BOYD C. SHAFER

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR. By *John Albert White*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 410. \$8.50.)

As one of the most momentous struggles in modern history, the Russo-Japanese War has been scrutinized by several generations of scholars, professional military analysts, and journalistic sensationalists. The military and naval aspects of the fray have been exhaustively studied in numerous volumes and in many languages, while the problems and lessons of the war have furnished grist for instruction in war colleges and naval academies all over the world. The broader political, diplomatic, and strategic implications of the Russo-Japanese War, however, have been somewhat slighted by scholars, largely because of the inherent language difficulties and the relative unavailability of essential source materials.

In his solid and workmanlike study White has succeeded in surmounting these several handicaps and has plugged many major and minor gaps in our knowledge of modern history. In no other scholarly work is the unfolding of the clash between the imperial systems of Russia and Japan in the decade after the first Sino-Japanese War traced with such thoroughness and objectivity. White has not only reassessed the old and conventional problems of the struggle; he has in many instances also posed them with fresh perspectives. He has, furthermore, raised and dealt with many hitherto unasked questions. A particularly notable contribution of the author is his success in enlarging the historical context in which the Russo-Japanese clash in East Asia should be examined. He considers the diplomatic and military confrontation not exclusively from the vantage points of the contestants but also from the viewpoints of the other interested powers. And, fortunately, he does not overlook, as is so often the case, the repercussions of Russian and Japanese policies and actions involving a major interested government: the Chinese Empire.

In attempting a multidimensional view of the Russo-Japanese War White has grappled with the unfolding policies of both Russia and Japan. Complete success in such a complex venture would surely be a tour de force. There is no doubt that his analysis of tsarist foreign policy and its many manipulators is thorough and enlightening; his treatment of Japanese policy, however, is, though searching and tenable, not so painstaking. Rather than being a step-by-step appraisal, it is more an interpretation. Such a reservation about so excellent a study is mere quibbling. The basic fact is that White has produced a volume of primary value to students of Russian, East Asian, and modern history. It will surely cause his Russian and Japanese peers in the field to reflect.

Brooklyn College

HYMAN KUBLIN

COMMUNISM AND REVOLUTION: THE STRATEGIC USES OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE. Edited by *Cyril E. Black* and *Thomas P. Thornton*.

[Center of International Studies, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 467. \$10.00.)

THIS is a coordinated series of essays on Communist experience in influencing political change by violent methods and on probable developments in the foreseeable future with regard to conditions within the ninety independent countries and the fifty colonial territories that compose the "third world" over which the two loosely organized Western and Communist coalitions of states are now contending. It was edited by two associates of the Center of International Studies of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Professor Black of the department of history of Princeton and Mr. Thornton of the staff of the Chief of Naval Operations in the Navy Department.

Communism and Revolution is a splendid book, beautifully printed, organized and edited with considerable skill and insight, full of important materials, marked by sound and sometimes brilliant interpretations, and illuminated by judgments about some of the major problems the world faces and about American strategy toward those problems. It was written after three conferences of the contributors, rather than the usual one, and this may account for the greater cohesion and higher level of quality than one generally finds in such volumes.

This book combines a well-organized and sound view of the massive changes occurring throughout the world and of Communist efforts so to direct those changes as to expand Communism, with specific case studies of the impact of modernization and of Communist policies in particular countries. It also provides a cogent and most persuasive series of recommendations through which Western countries may achieve "the promotion of long-term modernization with a minimum of violence" and thus "a congenial environment for the development of human welfare" such as most Western countries have enjoyed. In fact, policy members in the Department of State and other American agencies engaged in the world-wide struggle to promote modernization without Communism would benefit from reading this book, especially the last chapter, which places the crises of today and tomorrow in a most sensible framework.

Black's essays on "Revolution, Modernization, and Communism" and on "The Anticipation of Communist Revolutions" are particularly brilliant. Of the eleven case studies of Communist revolutionary experience, the most outstanding are those by Richard Burks on Eastern Europe, James H. Billington on Finland, and George Modelski on Vietnam. These essays in particular demonstrate clearly that revolutionary efforts seeking to profit from the crises created by modernization have taken the place of war in Communist theory and practice and suggest that revolutionary situations such as these, and the others described, will constitute the principal areas of conflict between the Western and Communist systems of states.

It is possible that *Communism and Revolution* places more emphasis than is

proper on the less-developed countries because political unrest in the more modernized countries has been a critical issue over the last half century, but basically this is a sound and even exciting volume.

Indiana University

ROBERT F. BYRNES

Ancient and Medieval

L'AVENTURE GRECQUE. By *Pierre Lévêque*. [Collection *Destins du Monde*, Volume III.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1964. Pp. 626.)

THIS unpretentious, astonishingly complete, masterly, and attractive account of the entire Greek experience extends from the fifth millennium B.C. to the latest manifestations of Hellenic influence among Indians, Celts, and Arabs, and it pays adequate attention to remoter Greek communities as well as the familiar centers in continental Greece and Ionia. Illuminating paragraphs on economics and political institutions, on religion, and on literature, art, and philosophy, all highly competent, are not isolated in separate sections, but related to their historical contexts. The scholarship is fresh and firsthand; there is no detailed documentation, aside from an up-to-date general bibliography, but new insights are credited to their authors, and the protagonists of both sides of moot questions are named. Professor Lévêque does not stray from his subject to draw parallels from other history or to offer homilies, but he does sometimes illustrate a point by a non-Greek analogy. The military-social organization of Dorian youth, for example, is like that of the Knights Templar or the Hitler *Jugend*. The statue of Zeus of Olympia is "mi-chemin entre l'onctueuse douceur des Bouddha d'Amaravati et la rebutante sévérité du Pantocrator de Daphni." The syncretism of Chthonian and Olympian religious strands suggests a prayer addressed to "‘Notre Père qui êtes aux cieux’ et ‘Notre-Dame la souterraine.’" Full and compact as the book is, it is agreeable and unhurried in style. Numerous headings and subheadings, a smaller type for technical material, ingenious graphs and charts, a chronological table, twenty-two maps, ninety figures, thirty-two photographic plates with eight in color, all un-hackneyed, enable the reader to follow the main threads intelligently.

A generation ago an analogous book would have devoted two-thirds of its space to the Athens of the fifth century B.C. with detailed accounts of military and political maneuverings transcribed from Herodotus and Thucydides. There was, however, a Greece, also luminous if less illuminated, outside Athens, that began long before the fifth century and continued long after. The welcome novelty in Lévêque's book are the hundred beginning pages on the formative stages and the fifty concluding pages on the sequelae. But puritan classicists who hold that the only reasons for studying the Greeks are the towering spiritual achievements of the fifth century need have no misgivings. Lévêque's informed and judicious appreciations of Golden Age literature and especially of architecture and philosophy do

justice to the glory that was Greece and are the more persuasive because of their freedom from breathless adulation.

Columbia University

MOSES HADAS

SALLUST. By *Ronald Syme*. [Sather Classical Lectures, Volume XXXIII.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1964. Pp. vi, 381. \$7.50.)

THIS eagerly awaited volume by the author of *The Roman Revolution* and *Tacitus* should be read by all seriously interested in Roman history. It starts with a careful analysis of Sallust's antecedents and the political situation of his age; this is followed by detailed consideration of Sallust as politician and historian. Then come chapters on the *Bellum Catilinae*, the *Bellum Jugurthinum*, and the *Historiae*; the work concludes with chapters on the time of writing, Sallust's historical style, and his fame. In two appendixes the *Invective* and the *Epistulae* are excluded from the authentic Sallustian works on the basis of careful arguments drawn from the text and the history of the period.

The author's conclusion is that Sallust was a remarkably able historian who attempted, with considerable success, to model his historical technique after Thucydides and his literary style after Cato the Elder. Sallust is described as a sternly moral person who wrote out of deep personal conviction and not a partisan political pamphleteer as he has been pictured in some recent works. Syme writes that not only did Sallust conquer a new domain—history—for Latin literature, but in Sallust's works Tacitus found and imitated a classic and surpassed his model.

Quite a good case is made in this study that Sallust was not the spokesman for the *populares* (the existence of a *populares* party is even questioned) but rather a philosophical moralist who delighted in attacking the corruption of the optimates in Rome and yet reserved his highest praise for the optimate, Cato the Younger. When, however, Syme attempts to sweep away the stories of Sallust's own immorality, such as the scandal preserved by Aulus Gellius, he seems on weaker ground, since ancient authorities who wrote about Sallust's morals criticized them. One can imagine a reformed libertine writing moralistic history as easily as a reformed sinner preaching a meritorious sermon.

The book abounds in those superb turns of phrase which are so admirable in Syme's writing. He suggests, for example, that Cicero's later Philippics must have aroused Sallust's admiration "much as he disapproved those excesses of partisan spirit that bring a commonwealth to ruin." The author has incisive criticism of Sallust, too: "His exposition suffers, as has been shown, from schematism and defective terminology; and prejudice is manifest and pervasive. . . . he underestimates the strength of the aristocratic tradition, the energy and integrity of individuals; and he was blind to a great truth, that corruption can be a safeguard of political liberty."

Readers of Sir Ronald Syme's *Sallust* may look forward to many other such brilliant sallies in this work, which is a fitting companion to the author's study of Tacitus. Soon it may be hoped he will at least go on to Livy and Ammianus Marcellinus.

University of Kansas

JAMES E. SEAVER

ASSEMBLIES AND REPRESENTATION IN LANGUEDOC IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By *Thomas N. Bisson*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 367. \$7.50.)

In this important book Professor Bisson correctly points out that French scholars have too often believed that assemblies were worthy of study only if they were periodically convoked, had well-defined political and administrative duties, and consisted of all three estates. This approach has caused them to fail to recognize the consultative nature of medieval, and, incidentally, of Renaissance government. Foreign scholars have generally devoted their energies to the royal and feudal courts and to political theory. As a result, prior to the publication of this book, little was known about thirteenth-century French assemblies.

In his study Bisson deals with the origins of representation in Languedoc. He seeks to find out why lords convoked assemblies, who attended, and when corporate representation began. Many of the meetings he treats consisted only of members of one estate drawn from a small geographical area. He even includes an interesting section in the appendix on assemblies of the inhabitants in individual towns. He finds that consuls and other important inhabitants of towns and villages participated with nobles in feudal assemblies in Agenais and possibly Quercy in the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century the practice spread to the remainder of Languedoc. When the Capetians acquired the province, they made use of assemblies for political and administrative reasons. Roman-canonical procurations for individuals and local corporations were used as early as 1200. They began to be employed by Church councils around 1250 and by secular assemblies during the twenty-five years that followed. Estates, that is corporate communities of nobles, towns, and clergymen with collective privileges, were formed, and in 1304 the first known *cahier* was prepared and presented to the King.

In explaining the origins of representative institutions, the author follows the current practice of emphasizing the lord's right to demand attendance at his court more than the right of the inhabitants to give consent. He stresses the importance of military matters far more than other studies on similar subjects and at the same time reduces the role so often assigned to taxation. He recognizes the importance of the Roman-canonical principle of *quod omnes tangit*, but correctly insists that practical realities were at least as important as legal theories. His factual information is based on material found in thirty-five archives and manuscript depositories

as well as in relevant printed sources. With such resources at his command, he has made a major contribution to our knowledge of early representative assemblies.

Emory University

J. RUSSELL MAJOR

ÉTUDES ANVERSOISES: DOCUMENTS SUR LE COMMERCE INTERNATIONAL À ANVERS, 1488-1514. Volume I, INTRODUCTION; Volume II, CERTIFICATS 1488-1510; Volume III, CERTIFICATS 1512-1513; LETTRES ÉCHEVINALES 1490-1514. By *Renée Doehaerd*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Ports, routes, trafics, Volumes XIV, XIV¹, XIV².] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1963; 1962; 1962. Pp. 282; 309; 372.)

THE GROWTH OF THE ANTWERP MARKET AND THE EUROPEAN ECONOMY (FOURTEENTH-SIXTEENTH CENTURIES). Volume I, STATISTICS; Volume II, INTERPRETATION; Volume III, GRAPHS. By *Herman van der Wee*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1963. Pp. lix, 562; xi, 435; 168. \$37.60 the set.)

Of late, the history of the great commercial emporium of the sixteenth century has attracted much attention. After the two monumental volumes devoted by Oskar de Smedt to the English "nation" in Antwerp (*AHR*, LVIII [Oct. 1952], 103, and LX [July 1955], 883), Émile Coornaert produced a two-volume work dealing with the French (LXIX [Apr. 1964], 734), and V. Vazquez de Prada published an introduction and three volumes of business letters written to Simon Ruiz in Medina de Campo by his Antwerp correspondents (LXVIII [Oct. 1962], 124). In addition, W. Brulez recently made a detailed study of the activities of the Della Faille, a Flemish firm with connections in Spain and Italy (LXVIII [Oct. 1962], 124). Now Renée Doehaerd and Herman van der Wee complete this galaxy with two works that are very dissimilar but have a common theme: Antwerp as a commercial and financial metropolis.

Doehaerd's work in three volumes is perhaps the less important of the two, since it is mainly a publication of abstracts from Antwerp archival records, the *certificatieboeken* (a collection of affidavits) and the *schepenbrieven* (scabinal deeds) during the period 1488-1514. Little is known about these crucial years when Antwerp was rapidly replacing Bruges as the mart of the Low Countries. The editor's introduction is somewhat disappointing, but it shows that the overland trade via Cologne and Frankfurt to southern Germany and Italy had already acquired importance and that the transportation of goods along this route was already in the hands of well-organized companies of Hessian wagoners. In her introduction, the editor states that she has not altered the spelling of family names, but has transcribed them as they appear in the records. Very well, but how will the reader, unfamiliar with Italian surnames, know that Acheol stands for Acciaoli, Altonitis for Altoviti, Auria for Doria, Guratessi for Quaratesi, or Spingel for Spinola? The index of persons might have given a clue, but it does

Études anversoises; Growth of the Antwerp Market 1085

not; it seems to be hastily and carelessly put together. Thus an Englebrecht or Ysenbrecht de Roever, de Roover, or de Rovere is listed thrice according to the various spellings of his name, although all the references are obviously to the same person. Despite certain shortcomings, Doehaerd's publication will be of great service to future historians since she summarizes, in French, documents written in Flemish, a language so few people read.

Van der Wee's work is also in three volumes: two containing statistics and graphs and the third an interpretation based on these and other data. As the presence of the word "growth" in the title indicates, Van der Wee's work is representative of a new trend in the writing of economic history. This new approach emphasizes the extensive use of statistics and is strongly influenced by modern theories of economic growth and methods of analysis used in macroeconomics. If carried to extremes, the new approach would reduce economic history to a collection of statistical studies, but Van der Wee is not an extremist. Unlike a prominent economist who wrote on the decline of Spain without even mentioning the Revolt of the Netherlands, he is quite aware of the impossibility of writing economic history in a vacuum, divorced from the course of political events and institutional and social developments. Nevertheless, the emphasis is on trends, booms, take-offs, and break-throughs until the reader is dizzy after a soaring flight into the heights of statistical analysis.

When the poor reader comes down to earth, he will discover that Van der Wee has reached conclusions that are not as novel as they seem, but are now supported by a wealth of quantitative evidence. The author has marshaled an impressive array of continuous series on prices, wages, rents, exchange rates, and unemployment. To collect all these data is quite a feat and must have required hours of meticulous work in the archives.

According to Van der Wee, Antwerp's rise was not as sudden as is commonly assumed, but had its roots far back in the fifteenth century and originated in the growing attraction of the fairs of Brabant and the "break-through" of southern Germany. Expansion, however, did not get under way until the sixteenth century and involved two phases: a primary phase which came to a halt in 1520 and bogged down in a succession of financial crises and other upheavals, and a secondary phase which lasted from 1535 to 1557. The upward trend was definitely reversed after the iconoclastic troubles and Alva's arrival with Spanish troops to quell the Protestant Revolt (1567). The surrender of Antwerp to Farnese in 1585 sealed the doom of the great metropolis as an international market, but its downfall was not as abysmal as many believe, and it remained for the next two centuries the banking and commercial center of the "reconciled" provinces. The Revolt of the Netherlands, indeed, had momentous consequences besides the fact that it ruined Spain by draining away its silver, its manpower, and its resources.

Contrary to the thesis of Professor Earl J. Hamilton, Van der Wee contends and proves that the expansion was not the result of a wage lag, but was made possible by the absorption of chronic unemployment and underemployment in town

and countryside. Pauperism assumed frightening proportions, and begging was a scourge.

There are some points that I would question. Van der Wee uses almost exclusively the semilogarithmic graph, which is fine to depict rates of growth and general trends but less satisfactory to show short-run fluctuations than the more common arithmetic scale. I wonder why Van der Wee insists that there was a depression in the second third of the fifteenth century when the troughs of the thirty-ninth graph clearly show that it occurred later and lasted from 1467 to 1493 when there was a sharp upswing. This deep and prolonged depression was, moreover, by no means confined to Flanders and Brabant, but was widespread; it played havoc with the Florentine economy, and also affected the English cloth industry. A major cause of the slump was probably the disequilibrium of the balance of payments between Northern Europe and Italy. In my opinion, Van der Wee underestimates the crucial importance of the English trade for Antwerp's prosperity. As the Merchants Adventurers exported most of their cloths in the gray, there arose in Antwerp a flourishing dyeing and finishing industry. As evidence, one could point to the great number of tenteryards (*raamhoven*) scattered all over the city's outskirts and plainly visible on contemporary plans of Antwerp. Finishing alone occupied more than twelve hundred workers and supported at least five thousand people. Van der Wee himself quotes the figure of three hundred shops employing from four to five men. If so, the removal from Antwerp of the Merchants Adventurers must have been a catastrophe, which can hardly be overstressed.

Since bad harvests engendered famines, epidemics, and other disturbances, Van der Wee was well inspired in adding a meteorological chronicle. This is a new field to which historians are only now beginning to pay attention.

The bibliography is excellent and exhaustive. The author studied for some time in England, and his command of English is exceptional for a foreigner; nevertheless, his style is rather dry and colorless. Perhaps the reason is that the book deals with quantities, and the human being is absent from its pages.

The somewhat critical tone of this review should not create the wrong impression. It is precisely because Van der Wee's book raises so many challenging questions that it deserves serious discussion. While controversial on many points, it is certainly a major achievement, rich in facts and figures, acute in analysis, which will have to be consulted by anyone working on the economic history of Antwerp or the Low Countries.

Brooklyn College

RAYMOND DE ROOVER

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY (1399-1485) WITH ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS. By B. Wilkinson. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1964. Pp. x, 418. \$8.50.)

THE character of this book is deceptive. In appearance it seems a source book; in

actuality, the nine introductions to the documents describe Lancastrian and Yorkist politics, the royal government, Parliament, church and state, and the community of the realm. The documents, in turn, illuminate the nature of the kingdom and the crown; coronations and elections; depositions, usurpations, and the three estates; and the kingship and the peerage. The citations also serve as a guide, bibliography, and index to many fifteenth-century sources. Furthermore, the selections, quoted in translation and printed in modern spelling, illustrate the themes that Wilkinson emphasizes, and his own original outlook is free from the stereotypes and set pieces that so long have deadened the history of the interval 1399–1485.

Instead of a dismal, worn-out era when old things took too long to die and the new ones had not yet flowered into a Tudor brilliance, Wilkinson describes a vigorous and animated time. In place of the pedantic quest to find the Tudor monarchy in Edward IV's new one, he expounds the theme of national unity and its establishment by "the rising national state." In doing this, he lays great stress upon "the people," both the concept and the fact of their existence, and upon "the middle classes." To highlight the significance of the *plebs*, the merchants, and the financiers who backed the Yorkist dynasty, he asserts that early in the century "the ascendancy of the aristocracy reached its highest point in English history." Grant "a steady rise in the importance of the middle classes" in warfare and politics, and grant that "the people," at least those in London and Westminster, were "becoming a decisive factor in politics"; yet surely the decisive motivation was the aristocrats' competition for "control." Jehan de Waurin, writing near 1471, recognized this principle of polity when he wrote of Henry VI: "each one who has had power with him has wished to strengthen himself by getting control [*gouvernement*] over the king." But did not this "aristocratic control" over the king and his servants, and over the knights, esquires, and gentlemen whom the peers retained by oath or indenture, defer for at least a century the decline of the aristocracy's political influence and the rise of the gentry's?

Some of Wilkinson's generalizations may seem overdrawn, but how much better that is than not to have any drawn at all. One may doubt that "broad and impersonal forces" were "transforming society" and that "deep beneath the surface, we may perhaps see the operation of public opinion." More convincing is the contention that Parliament's control, by statutes, over the church and the clergy set antipopery deep in men's emotions and gave to the Church of England a semi-independence. The propositions that Gloucester, York, and then Warwick kept alive "the concept of opposition" and that Edward IV substituted government through the household and patronage for conciliar rule are also persuasive. In the end, Wilkinson claims for this century that "the expansion of the polity, to the extent that this had been achieved by 1485, constituted a step forward comparable with . . . that of any other century." Here is the crux of the problem: what and when was the fifteenth century? Wilkinson has clung conservatively to 1485 instead of extending the fifteenth century to 1529, the year when Henry VIII dis-

covered the "crowning glory" of "the king-in-parliament, including in one unity all the Estates of the realm." The reign of Henry VII and the rule of Cardinal Wolsey completed the fifteenth century, and the history of the years 1485-1529 contains much to reinforce Wilkinson's conclusions about the advent of modernity.

Yale University

WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.

Modern Europe

CHARLES TOWNSHEND. By *Sir Lewis Namier* and *John Brooke*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1964. Pp. vii, 198. \$7.00.)

BRILLIANT but unstable and irresponsible, the younger son of Walpole's brother-in-law and colleague, Charles Townshend played a brief but remarkable role in late eighteenth-century politics. Taking advantage of the ailing Chatham's abdication from the leadership of his administration, Townshend, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1767 forced through an American policy opposed by most of the cabinet: Chatham, Grafton, Shelburne, and Conway. The "Townshend duties" plus the decision to establish an independently financed American customs service aroused once again in America the hostility that had been lulled by the repeal of the Stamp Act. This was Townshend's "greatest triumph—the only accomplishment of his life which renders his biography of historical significance."

Aside from this dubious achievement, Townshend was a man of extraordinary character. He certainly fascinated the late Sir Lewis Namier, who worked on no less than three separate biographies: a short one, done as the 1959 Leslie Stephen Lecture at Cambridge; a seven-thousand-word account for *The History of Parliament*; and this extended treatment completed after Namier's death by Lady Namier and John Brooke. Lady Namier explains that so many of Townshend's letters and references to him turned up during the hunt for materials for *The History of Parliament* that "much of the new material obviously had to be left out," but "to waste it was unthinkable."

One wonders if Lady Namier was right. Compared to the account in *The History of Parliament* the longer biography is curiously unsatisfactory and contributes few additional insights, due perhaps to the nature of the materials themselves. Brooke tells us that "it is easier for a biographer to analyse the shortcomings and mistakes of a man than to convey an idea of his genius, charm, or eloquence, unless they are transmitted in his writings, which is not the case with Charles Townshend." Instead, Townshend's letters, many of which are quoted extensively, deal with his unsatisfactory relations with his domineering father; with his elaborate and long-drawn-out negotiations for office; and, once in office, with devious intrigues against fellow ministers.

The best things in the book are said by Horace Walpole, as, for example, on Townshend's "champagne speech." In this performance, though a cabinet minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Townshend unburdened himself of every griev-

ance and every dislike, and with devastating wit. "He beat Lord Chatham in language," writes Walpole, "Burke in metaphors, Grenville in presumption, Rigby in impudence, himself in folly, and everybody in good humour." And again, "Nobody but he could have made that speech, and nobody but he would have made it if they could. It was at once a proof that his abilities were superior to those of all men, and his judgment below that of any man."

Yet it was only five days later that Townshend proved so effective in proposing and carrying through the duties that bear his name and that did so much to exacerbate an already critical situation in America. That was in May. Three months later he was dead. "All those parts and fire are extinguished," writes Walpole; "those volatile salts are evaporated; that first eloquence of the world is dumb; that cowardice terminated heroically." Walpole on Townshend is good reading; Namier and Brooke, rather less so.

College of Wooster

ROBERT WALCOTT

BURKE AND THE NATURE OF POLITICS. Volume II, THE AGE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *Carl B. Cone*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1964. Pp. 527. \$9.00.)

MODERN opinion on Burke divides as sharply as opinion in his own day. For some he stands as prophet of a wise and prudent conservative philosophy; for others his explosive temper, his emotional instability, and his feeling of insecurity betray a disordered, if brilliant, mind, and explain why he was always in opposition: to the royal prerogative, to Lord North's American policy, to an independent Irish Parliament, to reform of the House of Commons, to Hastings in India, and to the French Revolution. Long after the completion of Professor Copeland's fine edition of his letters, scholars will be searching for reconciliation of these seemingly irreconcilable opinions.

Professor Cone's substantial biography points the way. He follows Burke's parliamentary career in detail, with little quotation but with careful summaries of letters and speeches, and with occasional judgments. In spite of fondness for two-line sentences, so unlike Burke's own style, he has written the best biography to date. For him Burke's career shows consistent attachment to certain convictions about the British constitution, devotion to the House of Commons, and fear of royal encroachment; a belief in an ordered world in which justice was the first of virtues; and in wise aristocratic government as the means of achieving it for all classes, including the poor of India and of Ireland, and the slaves in the Empire. Burke came logically, therefore, to believe in a kind of responsible party government, party made up of men whose constitutional philosophy resembled his own, and not party as a group or coalition of self-interested groups whose only purpose was the gaining of office. It was easy then, as now, to regard these principles as rationalization of his predilection for the Rockingham Whigs. Cone never doubts the purity of Burke's principles. He attributes Burke's errors of judgment to "be-

nevolent indiscretion," "excessive trust" in his friends, and unswerving loyalty to his unprepossessing family, and understands how he was not fitted for administrative office.

In the *Reflections* Burke, first to recognize the dangers from the French Revolution, brought together into consistent whole what had been the guiding principles of his life. Someone else may sometime ask, after Copeland's edition makes it easier to find answers, just how far, in each step of his career, he acted in accordance with them. Until that time Cone's two-volume biography, of which the second volume is better than the first, will stand.

Cape Porpoise, Maine

STANLEY PARGELLIS

THE HOSPITALS, 1800-1948: A STUDY IN SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES. By *Brian Abel-Smith* with the assistance of *Robert Pinker*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 514. \$9.00.)

IN 1948 the hospitals of Britain were brought into a single system of public administration under regional boards and local management committees in which the doctors are strongly represented. This piece of nationalization was the least controversial part of the new National Health Service, and, though enacted by a Labour government, was chiefly the work of the doctors themselves, particularly the specialists and consultants. Mr. Abel-Smith, author of *The History of the Nursing Profession* (1960), attempts to show how this system, so very different from the American, has materialized. The result is, as the subtitle promises, a study of administration; personalities, hospital design, the development of equipment and of amenities occupy little space. Much of the story is a London story, and rightly so, for London's hospitals and London's problems set the pattern for the country, and the experience of the provinces, though it is not ignored, can hardly be recounted without a large body of local studies, which, at present, hardly exists.

Abel-Smith has discharged a long and difficult task with great ability. The facts and figures (to be given more fully in a second volume) are clearly presented; the main threads are never lost. The documentation, chiefly from the files of the medical periodicals and from official reports, is impressive. Modern methods of research, including the recording of quotations on tape for typing, have been put to good use. Briefly, there are two main strands. The first is the voluntary hospitals, including St. Thomas', Guy's, and the other old foundations and the many special hospitals so easily founded (often by ambitious doctors) in the nineteenth century. These catered to the poor; the doctors were unpaid, but cherished the appointments on which a reputation and a flourishing private practice as a specialist could be built. The second strand were the poor law infirmaries, in which doctors were paid, usually very poorly, for their services. Both kinds of hospital were gradually opened to patients outside the poor classes; ironically, the poor law was forced from the 1860's onward to build separate hospitals and to improve the

Orwin and Whetham: History of British Agriculture 1091

workhouse infirmaries for the sick poor in order that a strict policy of deterrence could be followed toward the able-bodied poor. The two world wars educated the doctors to the shortcomings of both parts of the system: amalgamation under the state offered security for adequate salaries and equipment which the old order could no longer be counted on to provide. Most of the 1948 scheme was anticipated in various plans put forward in 1917-1920, particularly in the report of the Council on Medical and Administrative Services (1920) under the chairmanship of the future Lord Dawson of Penn. The whole narrative is bound up with wider themes: the rise of the professions, the characteristically snobbish world of organized charity (the epitome of individualism), and the labyrinth of local government. In all these Abel-Smith is sure-footed; he presents new information and encourages further exploration. But why Hardy Gathorne?

University College of North Wales

C. L. MOWAT

HISTORY OF BRITISH AGRICULTURE, 1846-1914. By *Christabel S. Orwin* and *Edith H. Whetham*. ([Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1964. Pp. xx, 411. \$12.00.)

It was first planned to publish a two-volume work on this subject: one by the late Dr. C. S. Orwin dealing with agricultural policy and social change, the other by Sir James Scott Watson dealing with technical and scientific developments in agriculture. The death of one author and the retirement of the other compelled a change of plan. Two volumes have been reduced to one, and the distinguished team of authors replaced by another who, if less notable, is remarkably expert: Mrs. Orwin was her husband's collaborator, and Miss Whetham is both an agricultural economist and a historian of repute. Their joint work provides a highly useful addition to the literature of British agricultural history in the nineteenth century. Unlike Lord Ernle's *English Farming*, it does not ignore the agriculture of Wales and Scotland, and compared with the relevant chapters of Sir John Clapham's *Economic History*, it goes beyond them in the fullness of its detail and the range of its sources. Perhaps one should add that as a study in economic history it achieves that unusual feat of conveying a sense of having to do with human beings. The authors know their Trollope, Eliot, Hardy, and even their Surtees, and their copious quotations from the novels are both pleasant and illuminating.

They treat their subject chronologically: British agriculture in 1850, 1850-1875, 1875-1914. Within each of these periods they turn their attention to the rural social structure of landowners, farmers, and laborers, to farming techniques and prices, and to the role of the state in the promotion of agricultural enterprise. They are most felicitous perhaps in their skillful unraveling of the intricacies of mixed farming, especially during the critical time after 1875. Where they disappoint, the fault lies chiefly in the nature of their source materials. They have confined themselves exclusively to published sources, and their work accordingly

suffers the limitation of these sources. Their account of mid-century agriculture, for example, depends largely on Caird's *English Agriculture in 1850-1*. Useful as this work is, it neglects a vital matter to which research in estate accounts has pointed: the poor return on landowner's capital, even in the so-called golden years of British agriculture. Awareness of this fact might have made the authors more charitably disposed to landowners whom they quaintly describe as "the landed interest." Perhaps what seems to be a poor economic return on the landowner's investment may have had as much to do with the backwardness of landowners as the egotism of strict family settlement (on which point the authors follow Caird). Until this and other questions are adequately answered by detailed research, the authors have supplied the general student with an indispensable textbook.

Johns Hopkins University

DAVID SPRING

EDWARDIAN ENGLAND, 1901-1914. Edited by *Simon Nowell-Smith*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xxv, 619. \$15.00.)

THIS book contains fifteen essays on the Edwardian Age. Their subjects are "The King," "The Political Scene," "The Economy," "Domestic Life," "Science," "Thought," "Reading," "Art," "Architecture," "Theatre," "Music," "Sport," "The Royal Navy," "The Army," and "A Country Childhood." As must always be the case in a compendium of this sort, the essays are of uneven quality, though the major subjects are well covered. Asa Briggs, for instance, turns in an expectedly solid and reliable performance on Edwardian politics, which includes this memorable quotation on the subject of the Chinese labor issue (1906) from the *Chester Chronicle*:

No savvy Trade Union, no wantee that vote.
You wantee cheap labor? You sendee big boat!
Suppose no more fightee—you sojer go home;
When dollars can catchee, let Chinaman come.

Some essays, such as that on "Reading" by Derek Hudson, tend to have too much of the laundry list or catalogue about them; others, like John Betjeman's on "Architecture," possess both elegance of style and wit as well as information; and yet others, such as Marghanita Laski's on "Domestic Life," are nothing less than minor masterpieces of compression and evocativeness. One misses a chapter on education and one on literature. And one misses even more the sort of brilliant summing up of an entire age that G. M. Young supplied in his classic "Portrait of an Age" at the end of the two volumes on *Early Victorian England 1830-1865* (1934). But that is asking for the moon.

Among the major themes running through this book, three might be mentioned here. All of them are familiar, but they bear repetition, since they make their appearance in several of the chapters. One is the difficulty of speaking of an "Edwardian Age" or an "Edwardian Culture," in the face of the fact that life at the top of the society differed so markedly from life at the bottom. Any student

of the period must begin with the contrast between the fortunate few and the low-income majority, a contrast that pervades so much of the political, economic, and social history of the period.

The second theme is perhaps more in the nature of a warning, a warning not to regard these Edwardian years as a mere epilogue to the Victorian period, a kind of postlude before the outbreak of the First World War. It was a period full of ferment and creativity, which ought to be considered and judged in its own right.

Finally, this volume confirms once again that aesthetic luxuriance was one of the hallmarks of the period—whether found in what John Russell calls in his chapter on “Art” the “Elgarian fatness and fullness” of Steer’s paintings, or in the settings for the Drury Lane Theatre’s *The Prince of Peace*. These ranged from the accident ward of St. Thomas’ Hospital, via the House of Commons in session, and the terrace of Westminster “with real tugs and barges going up and down the river and real traffic passing over the bridge,” to a maritime collision, “in which the wicked M.P. went down with his Chinese servant at his throat while the heroine climbed the rigging.” All, as W. Bridges-Adams, the author of the chapter on “Theatre” reminds us, for a shilling.

Harvard University

JOHN CLIVE

THE SINGLE DUTY PROJECT: A STUDY OF THE MOVEMENT FOR A FRENCH CUSTOMS UNION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By J. F. Bosher [University of London Historical Studies, Number 16.] (London: University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1964. Pp. x, 215. \$6.65.)

J. F. BOSHER claims that the abolition of internal customs barriers and the establishment of a single national tariff by the French Constituent Assembly in 1790 and 1791 was “the work of the *ancien régime*, not of the Revolution.” Bosher believes that a customs reform movement had existed in France since the early eighteenth century and that it was “inspired, planned, and led” by members of the royal administration. He supports this thesis with pamphlets, memoirs, and official correspondence selected from the prodigious collections of administrative papers of the Archives Nationales and the principal libraries of Paris. He outlines six projects for customs reform proposed by various types of officials ranging from robe nobles such as Michel Amelot in 1720 and Henri Bertin in 1760 to a farmer-general such as Lallemand de Betz in 1737. Although Bosher admits that the “force” of the Revolution was necessary to execute the single duty project, he insists that it was the work of the “official world” and “illustrates admirably the reforming efforts of the *ancien régime*.”

I interpret this last conclusion somewhat differently. Actually, Bosher’s history of the single duty project illustrates the formidable obstacles to economic and fiscal reform in eighteenth-century France; it is a history of reform efforts that

failed. First, the projects of a half-dozen officials scattered over a century hardly constitute a movement. Boshier's sources do not permit him to tell us much about the "wide publicity" he believes these projects received after 1760. Moreover, Boshier has overstressed the naïve and doctrinaire aspects of physiocracy in order to contrast it with the practical realism of the officials. I suspect that neither physiocrats nor reforming officials had much to do with a popular demand for customs reform, closely related as it was to a growing exasperation with the entire tax structure. Yet if reforming officials neither "inspired" nor "led" a "movement" for customs reform, they did help "plan" the legislation of the Constituent Assembly. One of Calonne's officials, Mahy de Cormeré, furthered the work of the revolutionary committees on customs reform by his dedication and technical knowledge. Such evidence, however, does not prove that the legislation of 1790 was simply the last act in an officially inspired movement since Colbert.

The chief value of Boshier's work is not in his discovery of some competent and farsighted officials who proposed a new customs system for eighteenth-century France. Rather, Boshier has exposed the countless and complex obstacles to such reform. Customs reform involved the overhaul of the entire tax administration and hence could not be isolated from reform of other indirect taxes such as the gabelle. Revenues, not economic control, remained the principal purpose of the customs system in a nation frequently at war, and the powerful farmers-general had an interest in maintaining this order of preference. Finally, local and private privilege, incomprehension, and shortsightedness frustrated the spasmodic efforts of the royal administration to reform the customs system from above.

Dartmouth College

ROBERT FORSTER

THE SOCIAL INTERPRETATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *Alfred Cobban*. [The Wiles Lectures Given at the Queen's University, Belfast, 1962.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 178. \$3.95.)

In the traditional view, the French Revolution was a bourgeois revolution that destroyed the last vestiges of feudal society and consolidated the power of a capitalist class. This, says Cobban, is incorrect, the result of a mechanical application of nineteenth-century social theory to an eighteenth-century situation. There is a certain amount of justice in his remarks, as, for instance, when he criticizes others for failing to define their social terminology rigorously enough or when he argues against ignoring internal divisions within the bourgeoisie. He seems to agree with Elinor Barber in proposing a role theory to replace the conception of class. He is right when he says that classes do not correspond to estates, but that is like kicking in an open door. Is it not possible to argue for an integration of the concepts of role and class? Might not the assumption of new roles made available by economic advance or the search by the state for men to staff an expanding bureaucracy have served as the vehicle of mobility from one class to

another? After all, the eighteenth century was a period of rapid change in society, and it is therefore not strange to find men in fluid situations where the usual indexes of social position—birth, wealth, status, and so forth—do not necessarily correspond to one another.

It has long been recognized that the French Revolution was not exclusively bourgeois. No one now disputes the autonomous nature of the rural and urban popular movements, that each of them forced the bourgeois to take measures that were not always to their taste or in their interest. And so when Cobban tells us that the bourgeois, far from wishing to abolish seigneurial dues, were increasingly exploiting them, we are not surprised. But when he argues that the peasant revolt was not the result of a feudal reaction, but was rather directed against increasing commercialization, that is, the activity of the urban bourgeois in the country, he misses the point. Commercialization of what? Of seigneurial dues. You may call this feudal or decline to do so; you may point out that its agents were nobles and bourgeois—it matters little. The point is that such payments marked a return to the past, and a good portion of the peasantry resented it.

The more one goes on in this book, the more one is conscious of a certain disparity between evidence produced and conclusions reached. It will not do to quote Mercier to the effect that there was more social equality in the Paris of the 1780's than anywhere else. What did he mean by social equality? Nor does it prove anything to say that certain nobles were in commerce and that they wished to sit in the Third Estate during the elections for the Estates-General. Perhaps they wished to control its deliberations.

The crux of this book is the question of the bourgeoisie. No one doubts that it was a diverse group, made up of *rentiers*, commercial men, a few industrialists, and many members of the liberal professions. It was this last group that was the most revolutionary, says Cobban. Certainly they were the most vociferous. But did they represent only their own interests? And what were those interests? Did the *officiers* constitute a class at all, much less a declining one, as Cobban argues? Can decline be measured by a fall in the price of offices? And were the *gens de loi* as bad off as all that? Were they anticapitalist? Can their attitudes on this question be measured by their opinions on a given navigation law, as in the case of Brissot? Is the failure of the successive assemblies to change the system of colonial trade a sign of their traditionalism? Since Professor Cobban fails to answer these questions, it seems a *non sequitur* for him to say that "the Revolution, in its economic consequences, seems indeed to have been the kind of Revolution we should expect if . . . it was led not by industrialists and merchants, but by *officiers* and professional men."

Cobban suggests that the Revolution was anticapitalist. No doubt this is true of the popular movement, both rural and urban. But did this movement constitute the entire Revolution? Again, the Revolution hindered industrial development and foreign trade. Was this the policy of the revolutionaries or the result of the wars? Did not the revolutionary government itself try to put foreign trade back

into private hands as quickly as possible in the Year II? The Revolution is reproached for having produced a class of *nouveaux riches* but not industrial capitalists; for not having stimulated the flow of investment capital. But could the Revolution control these matters? Does this reflect anticapitalist intent? Or perhaps an unfinished revolution? The widespread hostility to economic change that Cobban cites and with which the Revolution had to deal may explain the slowness of that change better than any specific policy can.

It is true that the social developments of the Revolution "consolidated the claims of property against the propertyless and of the richer, on all levels, against the poorer." Furthermore, the social hierarchy was strengthened but "modified and based more openly on wealth, particularly on landed wealth, and political influence, and less on birth and aristocratic connections. . . ." What could be more bourgeois? Cobban argues that the ruling class that emerged from the Revolution was made up of landowners. True enough, but cannot a landowner be a capitalist, a bourgeois? To say simply that these property owners were conservative is meaningless. What did they wish to conserve? What they had got from the Revolution: more land from the *biens nationaux*, an equitable system of taxation, equality before the law, some power in government, a large internal market, and the freedom to exploit it. These are not negligible gains.

What Cobban has succeeded in showing is that the Revolution was not made by, and did not bring to power, an industrial bourgeoisie. The question is: who ever said that it did?

Paris, France

JEFFREY KAPLOW

THE VENDÉE. By Charles Tilly. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 373. \$8.50.)

IN our own day, largely under the influence directly of Georges Lefebvre's study of the peasantry and indirectly of his disciples who re-examined other mass movements, scholars have been taking a new look at developments in the west of France and more particularly at the Vendée. The clues to an understanding of what happened, they contend, are to be found in the pressures put on the existing social structures.

To the list of eminent French scholars, such as Paul Bois, Marcel Reinhard, and Marcel Faucheux, we now add the name of an American, Charles Tilly, whose important work, reviewed here, crowns years of intensive archival research and publication. A sociologist, he states clearly that he is not writing the narrative of the Vendée. The subtitle of his work is "A Sociological Analysis of the Counter-revolution of 1793." Writing as a sociologist, he uses the Vendée as a case study to test the validity of the formulations and findings of contemporary sociological studies. The area that he investigates is the Bas Anjou south of the Loire, that is, the Vendée of the *bocage* country and of the valleys and plains of the Saumurois and the Val de Loire.

His argument, greatly simplified, runs as follows: the west of France, including the Vendée, underwent before 1789, like the rest of France, significant changes, rapid but uneven in their incidence. Those changes, he subsumes under the broad headings of "urbanization" and "centralization," with all that they connote concerning economic transformation and governmental control. Interacting with one another at different rates and with different intensities, they were transforming all aspects of life and creating local and regional tensions between cities and country as well as putting pressures upon social groups. Where such antagonisms already existed, as in the *bocage*, where urbanization was rapid if relatively slight in the predominant areas of subsistence farming, the accelerated process of urbanization during the Revolution heightened them well before 1793. Where tensions and pressures did not exist or existed in mild form, as in the region around Saumur where urbanization was an old story, the Revolution proceeded relatively smoothly, and its supporters generally prevailed.

He elaborates this broad theme in copious detail, with charts and all that are the hallmarks of sociological research, first for the prerevolutionary period, next for the early years of the Revolution, and, in a final chapter, for the great uprising of 1793. From the analysis that he makes on several related levels he concludes, too, that many interdependent sources of contention existed before the Revolution. By a more or a less similar analysis of the impact of the early Revolution, he ends with the supplementary but pivotal conclusion that well before 1793 the currents of conflict were flowing into a struggle for power between the two parties, the "Patriots" and the "Aristocrats." Though, in 1793, the point of choice for both was the question of supporting the juring or nonjuring clergy, and though the immediate catalyst was the conscription, the great uprising itself was neither spontaneous nor plotted, as has long been held. It was the climax and the fulfillment of what went before. In general, the solid bourgeois nucleus, but not all of the bourgeois, stayed with the Revolution; the counterrevolutionaries, under the leadership of clergy and nobility, rallied peasants and many rural artisans, who had been badly hit by the depression in the textile industry, against the pro-revolutionaries who controlled the town and city administration.

His conclusion is in the main a tenable one. That his approach may be superseded in its turn, as it supersedes earlier sociological concepts, is of course possible, and some historians may be found to plead that it is either superfluous or too insistent. But certainly no historian will dare from now on to treat the Vendée *vieux style*. For that we are in Tilly's debt. Secondly, he makes clear, if it was not before, that the historian must cross the bridge to the sociologist (and vice versa). To this one should add, and then, laden with rich bounty, return. Yet one big question remains, and it is not of his making. How, with that bounty in hand, will the historian fare as he seeks to broaden and deepen "the narrative line [*vide* H. Stuart Hughes]?" For broaden and deepen it we must.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

THE FRENCH RADICAL PARTY IN THE 1930's. By Peter J. Larmour.
(Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1964. Pp. 327. \$8.50.)

THE theme of Mr. Larmour's book is the failure of political leadership in France during the 1930's. He approaches his topic through an examination of the French Radical-Socialist party on two levels. First, he discusses the local and national characteristics of a phenomenon described as a "collection of [businessmen] politicians masquerading as a party." Weaknesses in electoral and parliamentary organization and discipline, the enormous range of opinion within the party, the role of dominant personalities, and fuzzy doctrine are examined in turn for their importance to the question. It becomes quite clear why the lawyers and professors who claimed to, but did not really represent the independent peasantry and lower bourgeoisie were unprepared to deal with the grim socioeconomic and security problems of the thirties.

Their failure is thoroughly documented in the account of the party's historical record during the decade, which Larmour takes as his second level of analysis. The Radicals had no workable policies of their own during the two most crucial periods of their political leadership or pre-eminence. They were so completely paralyzed by their hopeless internal contradictions that the entire political machine "jammed" and could only be set in motion again by a national catastrophe. The first shock "event" was on February 6, 1934; the second was Hitler's occupation of Austria. The former destroyed the moral reputation of the party. The latter destroyed the historic party itself by giving the conservative wing an excuse to break with the popular front and to adopt anti-Communism as a unifying *mot d'ordre*. One of the Radicals' contradictions—that between its sentimental attachment to the Left on the one hand and its Centrist electorate and conservative economic ideas on the other—was thereby solved. But the party emerged from this last "super-crisis" shrunken and "moribund." By Munich, it was completely silenced and "humbled" by its uncertain hero, Daladier, who is seen as a bridge between the dying parliamentary republic and the oncoming authoritarian regime of Vichy.

Larmour's study is based principally upon press sources, but also includes interviews and some interesting unpublished papers in addition to a wide range of published material. He uses all of this literature with such skill and sophistication that it is all the more regrettable that the wily Daladier escaped his interview net and that Chautemps's memoirs are omitted. Larmour writes with no little pungency and wit, presents his material well and interprets it accurately, and almost always is scrupulously fair to the personalities involved. But his focus is sometimes narrower than it should be. National defense and some diplomatic affairs are not given the emphasis they deserve; historical perspective is often not used where it would be helpful. One of the results is a certain ambiguity that creeps into the final discussion of the relative importance of personal responsibility and the general contradictions of the entire French political system as factors in the failure of leadership.

This book is therefore much more a history of the Radical party during the thirties than of France itself through the party, as the author suggests in his introduction. As such, it is a carefully done and valuable addition to the still curiously meager literature on the "party that was the Republic." Many of its general themes are not new: Larmour builds on the interpretations advanced by Alain, Siegfried, Maurice, Thibaudet, Goguel, Weber, and Hoffmann. But he applies them so skillfully and thoroughly to his subject that Radicalism during the thirties has herewith received its definitive treatment. Larmour's book can honorably take its place beside De Tarr's account of the party's postwar experience under the Fourth Republic.

Trinity College

PHILIP C. F. BANKWITZ

REICHSWEHR UND POLITIK, 1918-1933. By *Francis L. Carsten*. (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch. 1964. Pp. 484.)

PROFESSOR Carsten has written the first book devoted exclusively to a general survey of the political position and activities of the *Reichswehr* through the entire period 1919-1933. His work ties together the periods covered by Thilo Vogelsang and myself and greatly expands the treatment accorded the *Reichswehr* in such works of larger scope as Wheeler-Bennett's *Nemesis of Power*. Carsten confines himself entirely to the politics and general policies of the *Heeresleitung* (exclusive of those regarding strategy, tactics, and technology). He does not, however, seriously attempt the job of separating what in English is called "politics" from what is called "policy," an always difficult but most important task, especially in view of the tendency of Germans to ignore the differences between these concepts, as is only natural to people whose language provides only one word—*Politik*—to cover both.

The author presents a picture of the *Reichswehr* and its activities that is generally consistent with the views of the moderate Socialist and liberal Left in Germany. He uses a number of materials that have only recently become available or that have been neglected by earlier authors. Most of these new materials, however, seem to provide only minor modifications of the picture available from other, earlier known sources.

Carsten uses his sources quite selectively and ignores much relevant factual material. At times he does not use what most historians would consider the best source available, that is, the one closest in time and person to the events under consideration. In discussing General von Seeckt's attitude toward Noske after the Kapp *Putsch*, for example, Carsten uses Rabenau's biography of Seeckt, which is valuable but which should always be used with some care in view of the period during which it was written, rather than the minutes of the relevant meeting of the *Reichskabinett*, where the notes regarding Seeckt's statements clearly contradict Rabenau. Also, in a number of instances, the author makes broad assertions without providing documentation sufficient to support them. Thus, he states flatly

that the personnel of the navy was drawn more largely from the *Freikorps* than was that of the army, but his footnotes offer no figures or compelling analysis to support the statement. Similarly, he states that the majority of the officers of the *Reichswehr* were not loyal to the republic in the Kapp *Putsch*, although his footnotes do not indicate that he even examined much of the material relevant to the question. In other instances, Carsten presents statements of fact that are contradicted by primary source materials available to and used in part by him. An example is the clear implication that General von Schöler only came over to the side of the Ebert government on March 16, 1920, whereas a telegram of General von Schöler in the Schleicher Papers, which Carsten used extensively, makes a specific declaration of loyalty to the Ebert government on March 14.

In one instance worthy of special notice, the author not only palms off on the *Reichswehr*, to which he never belonged, the Rightist firebrand General Graf von der Goltz, but makes the surprising statement that Goltz and General Reinhardt, the first *Chef der Heeresleitung*, shared the same aims, which is true only in the same manner and approximately to the same degree as Friedrich Ebert and Josef Stalin shared the same aims.

There are other factual errors or places where contrary evidence should have been weighed for the reader against that which Carsten accepts. On the other hand, in some places he corrects factual errors made by his predecessors.

Carsten's handling of motivations, always a very ticklish and difficult problem, seems sometimes to be dangerous. He settles such questions apparently with very little discussion and on the basis of very thin evidence or even of no apparent evidence. He never seems to consider whether a decision is the result of the institutional orientation of the *Heeresleitung* or whether it is a political decision. He never seems to place himself in the position of the professional soldier or to seek to understand his basic attitudes, yet without doing so the outsider can hardly hope to understand the men he studies.

The most serious weakness of this book, however, is its failure to consider the policies and politics of the *Heeresleitung* in the round. One is left confused about what the government, the political parties, and foreign nations were doing, even when the army was clearly reacting to outside stimuli. No policy, particularly no political policy, is conceived and executed in a vacuum. This weakness in the text is mirrored in the bibliography and footnotes where one misses serious use of such sources as the *Reichstag* debates, party histories, memoirs and biographies of key political leaders, or even such specifically apposite works as Gustav Adolf Caspar's study of SPD-army relations.

Notwithstanding the above criticisms, Carsten's work has very definite virtues. He gives more attention to the navy's role in the development of *Reichswehr* policy than do other scholarly works and has at least begun the task of opening up the sources needed for a full-dress study of the navy in this period. Carsten also presents the best and clearest picture available of *Reichswehr*-Red Army relations in the early years of their cooperation. Finally, he provides, without the

exaggerations and obvious partisanship of such earlier writers as Caro and Oehme, a view of army policy and activities, which, while not persuasive to me, deserves careful consideration by scholars and serious laymen alike. This book then, despite its weaknesses, deserves a place among the significant studies of the army in the Weimar Republic.

University of Massachusetts

HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

HISTOIRE DE L'ARMÉE ALLEMANDE. Volume I, L'EFFONDREMENT (1918-1919); Volume II, LA DISCORDE (1919-1925); Volume III, L'ESSOR (1925-1937); Volume IV, L'EXPANSION (1937-1938). By *Benoist-Méchin*. (Reprints; Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1964. Pp. 379; 405; 333; 627. 21 fr.; 21 fr.; 18 fr.; 27 fr.)

In a notice printed on the jackets of the first three of these volumes (but not within the covers of any one of them), M. Benoist-Méchin describes his work as a new and substantially expanded edition of the two-volume history of the post-1918 German Army published in 1936-1938. It was necessary to adapt the earlier work, he says, "à un cadre plus vaste. C'est pourquoi j'ai dû revoir entièrement bien des passages, remodeler certains chapitres, et en ajouter d'autres —entièrement inédits—pour tenir compte à la fois de mes propres expériences et des innombrables publications parues dans l'intervalle."

The most charitable thing to say of this is that it promises much more than it delivers. A careful checking of these volumes reveals that Volume I, except for a very few insignificant changes of wording, is identical in plan and text with the 1936 volume, and that Volumes II and III merely reproduce most of the text of the author's 1938 volume. Until page 240 of Volume III, the only works cited that did not appear in the footnotes of the original volume are (as far as I can determine) those of August Kubizek, John Wheeler-Bennett, Charles Tansill, and William Shirer, and even these are referred to only once or twice. There is no evidence that the author has used, or is even aware of, the Reinhardt papers, edited by Fritz Ernst, the published memoirs of Groener and Gessler, the British diplomatic documents bearing on the Baltic adventure, Harold Gordon's history of the Seeckt period, Hans Gatzke's revelations from the Stresemann papers, the pioneer work on the last years of the Weimar Republic by Karl Bracher, Wolfgang Sauer, and Thilo Vogelsang, or the many important articles and documents that have appeared in the pages of the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*.

The last five chapters of Volume III and all of Volume IV are new, but it would be difficult to describe them as a contribution to our knowledge of the history of the German Army, in which the author appears, indeed, to lose interest. The first 272 pages of Volume IV are devoted to a description of the world in 1937, in the course of which there is much more about American-Japanese relations than there is about German soldiers, and the rest of the volume is a

laborious account of the background and execution of the *Anschluss*, in which Benoist-Méchin has felt called upon to write four chapters on the history of Austria from the ninth century to the dictatorship of Dollfuss. Sandwiched in the middle of all this is a very brief section on the crisis of the German Army in 1938, in which the author shows no command of the sources.

Since the last page of Volume IV alludes to the Sudeten crisis of 1938, one must expect at least one more volume to be added to a work that has unfortunately lost the interest that the original edition possessed for students of the field.

Stanford University

GORDON A. CRAIG

THE SECRET DIPLOMACY OF THE HABSBURGS, 1598-1625. By *Charles Howard Carter*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 321. \$7.50.)

FOLLOWING in the footsteps of Garrett Mattingly, Professor Carter explores further the detailed workings of international relations in early modern Europe. His theme is the process whereby secret information was discovered, and how this information affected the policies of home governments. He concentrates on two episodes that show the Habsburg agents at James I's court in action. Spain's ambassador, Gondomar, operating at the highest level, sounded out the King himself. The envoy from Brussels, Von Male, was the "spymaster" who gathered intelligence through bribery and informers. And William Sterrell, a well-placed man-about-court, gossiped avidly with an old friend who was now a prominent minister in Brussels. In the first episode we see how these three, primarily Von Male, rapidly discovered that the French had failed to win English support for aggressive moves on the Continent early in 1621. This information enabled Spain to formulate policy secure in the knowledge that France was unlikely to embark on an offensive singlehandedly. But this conspicuous success was followed, in the second episode, by dismal failure. None of the three informants suspected that the Dutch mission to London in February 1621 was seeking military assistance, or that the United Provinces intended to resume fighting when the Truce of Antwerp expired two months later. This failure meant that Archduke Albert learned only at the last minute that the truce would not be extended, and consequently Spinola had to be rushed back to the Netherlands in the midst of his Palatinate campaign. The breakdown in the spy system undoubtedly contributed to this miscalculation, but surely the circumstances of Oldenbarneveldt's fall, and Maurice's traditional policy, should have tempered Albert's optimism. Better spying in London might have exposed earlier the fallacy of his peace hopes, but his original mistake was in relying on such hopes at all. And even if he had known the truth sooner, would the outcome have been materially different? Spinola could not have conquered the Palatinate any faster, and as it happened he still returned in time to launch an imminently successful campaign against the Dutch. But this overemphasis of the effects of the spies' activities is not too serious. An important

element in seventeenth-century policy making is admirably documented, and the intrigues are put firmly in place by the convincing conclusion that "the principal characteristic of diplomacy was that there was too much of it."

The more general first half of the book provides background to these events by analyzing international relations during the period. This is a straightforward and sensible survey that explodes some old clichés, such as the Spanish "crusade for Catholicism." The usual harsh treatment of James I and Gondomar is also revised, but this rehabilitation is not entirely convincing. The opinions of earlier historians (rather brusquely dismissed) may have been excessively unfair, and the problems inherited from Elizabeth were certainly appalling, but James's ineptness in such matters as handling Parliament cannot be denied. Carter will present his case more fully in a forthcoming biography of Gondomar, and in the present work he does establish that the ambassador's ascendancy over the King was by no means complete. But the implication that James was outfoxing the Spaniard is far from proven. At one point in the narrative, for instance, James wanted Digby sent immediately to Madrid, but Gondomar sought to divert the mission. In the end it was James who "became flustered," and Digby traveled to Brussels.

Harvard University

THEODORE K. RABB

PRINZ EUGEN VON SAVOYEN: EINE BIOGRAPHIE. Volume II, DER FELDHERR; Volume III, ZUM GIPFEL DES RUHMES. By *Max Braubach*. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1964. Pp. 496; 463. DM 35; DM 33.)

THE years from 1703 to 1718 saw Prince Eugene reach the pinnacle of his glory as the eighteenth century's most renowned maker of war and peace. In these two volumes of Braubach's monumental biography, the author follows the Prince to the scene of the great victories and occasional setbacks that he experienced on the battlefields of southern Germany (Höchstädt or Blenheim), of Italy (Turin and Milan), of southern France (Toulon), of the Low Countries and northern France (Oudenaarde, Malplaquet, and Lille), and of Hungary and Serbia (Peterwardein and Belgrade). Eugene's role as a diplomat is likewise sketched out fully as the Prince negotiates with Heinsius and Marlborough at The Hague, with Victor Amadeus (his cousin) at Milan, with the princes of the Empire, with Bolingbroke in London, with Villars at Rastatt, and with the Turks at Passarowitz.

Throughout fifteen years of almost continuous warfare, Eugene managed, as Braubach shows, to advance his personal political power at Vienna even while regularly absent from the capital on distant missions. Through his alter ego, Count Johann Wenzel Wratislaw von Mitrowitz, Eugene was able to keep his finger on the political pulse at home, retain the unqualified confidence of two emperors, and keep in check and finally overwhelm completely his opponents at court. Wratislaw and Eugene emerge as staunch proponents of *raison d'état* in international affairs and as advocates of the policy of placing Habsburg interests above

those of the Empire, the House of Savoy, and of any centrifugal forces whatsoever. Eugene's own loyalty to the Habsburg cause was so great that he rejected out of hand the suggestion that he should accept the kingship of Poland.

Braubach forthrightly deals with many of the charges against Eugene advanced by commentators in the Prince's own day and since. He shows how the Spanish party blamed Eugene for Joseph I's failure to provide adequate financial and military support for Charles and the ill-fated Austrian enterprise in Spain. The Prince was also accused in Austria and elsewhere of being averse to the conclusion of peace and interested in continuing the War of the Spanish Succession to win greater glory and power for himself. Even after he became *Reichsfeldmarschall*, he sometimes was censured by the German princes for sacrificing imperial interests to the distant enterprises of the Habsburgs. On the battlefield Eugene was intermittently accused of being either too brash or too timid. In diplomacy he was charged with being cold-blooded, ruthless, and vindictive. Braubach, in responding to these charges, is able to show clearly that Eugene, while he made errors of judgment and calculation, was usually proceeding rationally and coolly to advance as best as he knew how the objectives of his royal master.

Eugene became increasingly a maker of policy, particularly in international affairs. He negotiated with broad powers and directly with the political leaders of Austria's allies; almost singlehandedly he concluded the Treaties of Rastatt and Passarowitz. Whenever he returned to Vienna during the reign of Charles VI, he presided over the *Geheimrat* and advised the Emperor personally on matters domestic and foreign. He conducted secret diplomacy in connection with his military intelligence activities and corresponded directly with Villars after 1714 about a Habsburg-Bourbon alliance. Certainly no uncrowned political figure of his day enjoyed comparable freedom of maneuver or greater international prestige.

Students of continental affairs of the early eighteenth century cannot afford to be ignorant of these volumes. While attention is properly centered on Eugene, the author includes long sections that deal with international problems in the Baltic, Italy, and Eastern Europe that were only indirectly related to the Prince's activities. These sketches are executed with caution and fidelity, and they depict sharply the new place that Austria assumed under Eugene's leadership in the calculations of the cabinets of Europe, including therein Russia, England, and Turkey.

The basic weakness of these fine volumes is in their organization and presentation. Unfortunately, the author placed his general bibliography at the end of the first volume, thus making succeeding volumes difficult to use. The footnotes appear at the end of each volume, often in abbreviated form; the key to the abbreviations is located in the first volume. In the original plan this was supposed to be a four-volume work (see my review of Volume I, *AHR*, LXX [Oct. 1964], 144). According to a notice at the beginning of Volume III, Braubach's manuscript, originally intended as Volumes II and III, turned out to be so lengthy that it is now being issued as Volumes II, III, and IV. While sympathetic to the problems faced both by the author and publisher of multivolumed works, it does seem

that better planning was called for in preparing such an ambitious and otherwise admirable work. The final two volumes will deal with Eugene as statesman and *Mensch*.

University of Chicago

DONALD F. LACH

EIGHT PHILOSOPHERS OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE. By *Paul Oskar Kristeller*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 194. \$5.00.)

PRESENTED in the form of eight lectures and an appendix that is a sensitive afterthought on medieval antecedents to Renaissance humanism, this compact volume is a lucid treatment of the writings of eight Italian philosophers from the fourteenth through the sixteenth century. First, the humanists, Petrarch and Valla are considered, and then the Neoplatonist, Ficino, and the syncretist, Pico, are dealt with; this is followed by a consideration of the bold Aristotelian, Pomponazzi. The last three chapters discuss the most compelling naturalists of the sixteenth century: Telesio, the neglected Patrizi, and the tragic Bruno. This fair-minded work, then, is a useful description of the leading noncivic aspects of Italian philosophy. Certainly the author's moderate views stand as a corrective to those who would argue that Renaissance thought is less than complex, made up as it is of so many contrasting, even contradictory, themes. Even more various are they than the author indicates in this work, had attention been given to contemporary writings on magic, alchemy, and astrology. Professor Kristeller contends vigorously that Renaissance philosophy cannot possibly be subsumed under the heading of anti-Scholasticism or anti-Aristotelianism, and certainly not under the caption of pagan, that is, anti-Christian. (It should be noted, however, that defenses of Christian positions by such philosophers as Valla and Pomponazzi are frequently psychological rather than theological, while Renaissance Neoplatonism surely does little to corroborate the uniqueness of the Christian experience. It may be that many Southern European arguments, while different in style and form, culminate in a fideism or a Christian skepticism close to that espoused by certain later medieval Northern European thinkers.) Much more interested in unraveling the intricacies and niceties of the philosophers in question, the author has never been tempted from his noncontroversial survey, by the sparkling insights of Garin, to search for a possible nexus between Renaissance politics and thought. Nor has he been beguiled by the glistening correlations between art and philosophy articulated by Panofsky—a consequence of the severing of the medieval “bond between the *pulchrum* and *bonum*.” With modesty he has contended that the significance of Renaissance philosophy is that it provides analogies and sources for the understanding of Italian literature, art, religion, and science. He would leave others to draw the bolder inferences. He maintains, moreover, that an understanding of Renaissance philosophy will help us to appreciate the difference in outlook between

an Ockham and a Descartes. This of course has the comfortable, familiar look of an old, friendly truism.

This, then, is a rather decorous world in which Renaissance thinkers behave quite like serious, cautious professors. Gone are the passion, the desire for elegance, the despair that led both to a love of rhetoric and a renunciation of medieval depth psychology. Seldom in this lucid account is sufficient stress placed upon Renaissance magic or cabalism, and yet this is a field to which Kristeller contributed so much. Nor does the author use the brilliant bibliographical technique of Lucien Febvre with its devastating critique of the application of post-Rousseau-esque notions of religious sincerity to premodern thinkers. What, then, is presented is a valuable, scholarly consideration of philosophers of high seriousness whose intellectual choices are frequently made on objective grounds rather than out of political needs, aesthetic imperatives, psychological demands, or the consuming desire for a fresh beginning to all things through *renovatio*. As Frances Yates and Eugenio Garin have shown, the appeal of the irrational with its fascination for the occult in the Renaissance was not unrelated to the development of seventeenth-century science. This admirable narrative can therefore be read with profit to the accompaniment of the bizarre, even erotic, strains of a feverish, sometimes magico-philosophical, quest for what Ernst Cassirer described as the *ragioni* embodied in things and events.

University of Rochester

MARVIN B. BECKER

DALLA GUERRA MONDIALE ALLA DITTATURA (1916-1925). By Gaetano Salvemini. Edited by Carlo Pischedda. [Opere di Gaetano Salvemini. Series 3, Scritti di politica estera, Volume II.] (Milan: Feltrinelli Editore. 1964. Pp. xxxii, 774. L. 6,000.)

THIS latest volume in the *opera omnia* of Gaetano Salvemini collects many of his writings of the decade between 1916 and 1925 that were concerned with foreign affairs. It covers the period after his return from military service to his departure from Italy for exile, one jump ahead of the Fascist police. During this decade Salvemini was functioning as a practicing journalist, political polemicist, and active politician. Some of his parliamentary speeches, delivered during a brief term as a member of the Chamber of Deputies, are reproduced in this collection. He had renewed the publication of his political weekly, *L'Unità*, after his return from the front, and most of the material in this volume is drawn from this journal, although there are selections from other magazines and papers. The editor makes it clear that the volume contains a representative selection from his writings, not his total output. Much of his journalistic production was inevitably repetitious, and the editor wisely excluded any attempt at completeness.

During this period Salvemini wrote little history. His one major historical publication of the decade, *La politica estera italiana dal 1871 al 1914*, was the outgrowth of a course he taught in 1923 as visiting lecturer at King's College,

University of London. This work is not included in the present volume, but will be a separate volume in the series. Nevertheless, Salvemini the historian was always present in Salvemini the journalist and politician, in his ability to mobilize data, analyze sources, and place his current positions in historical perspective.

The dominant problem faced by Salvemini was Italian policy toward Austria and the southern Slavs. Over and over again he argued the necessity of dismembering the Habsburg Empire; over and over again he warned of the importance of coming to friendly terms and reasonable compromises with the future Yugoslavia. He wanted no non-Italian territory; he opposed Italian claims to the South Tirol, to Dalmatia, to many Adriatic islands, to colonial territory in Turkey. This naturally earned him the enmity of Italian nationalists and imperialists, led by his favorite target, Foreign Minister Sydney Sonnino. They fastened the label *rinunciatore* (renouncer) upon him.

Not all of the volume is devoted to the Adriatic question. There are pieces on Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations and French and British foreign policies. Salvemini was a supporter of the League. He opposed French punitive nationalism vis-à-vis Germany, on the question of reparations and the invasion of the Ruhr. At the same time he criticized the British (and also Mussolini) for not giving the French the guarantees they needed to justify a generous policy toward Germany.

This book demonstrates once again his clarity of style and straightforwardness of argument. Contrary to the vagueness and involved and complicated locutions of most Italian academic and journalistic writers, Salvemini always let his readers know exactly where he stood and what his reasons were for his stand. When he shifted position, he clearly indicated his shift and explained why. His absolute honesty and his moral courage shine through magnificently.

University of Connecticut

NORMAN KOGAN

STANOWISKO RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ SZLACHECKIEJ WOBEC SPRAWY UKRAINY NA PRZEŁOMIE XVII-XVIII W. [The Attitude of the Polish Republic toward the Problem of the Ukraine at the Turn of the Late 17th and Early 18th Centuries]. By *Jan Perdenia*. [Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie, Prace Komisji Historycznej, Number 8.] Cracow: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1963. Pp. 283. Zł. 48.)

ZIEMIE POLSKIE POD ZABOREM PRUSKIM: PRUSY NOWOWSCHODNIE (NEUOSTPREUSSEN), 1795-1806 [Polish Territories under Prussian Administration: New East Prussia (Neuostpreussen), 1795-1806]. By *Jan Wąsicki*. [Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Wydział Historii i Nauk Społecznych, Prace Komisji Historycznej, Volume XX, Part 1.] (Poznań: Praca Wydana z Zasiłku Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1963. Pp. 283. Zł. 62.)

MONOPOLE KSIĄŻĘCE W SKARBOWOŚCI WCZESNOFEUDALNEJ POMORZA ZACHODNIEGO [Ducal Prerogatives in the Early Feudal Fi-

nancial System of Pomerania]. By *Jerzy Walachowicz*. [Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Wydział Historii i Nauk Społecznych, Prace Komisji Historycznej, Volume XX, Part 2.] (Poznań: Praca Wydana z Zasiłku Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1963. Pp. 300. Zł. 66.)

THE first of these monographs is a broadly conceived study in political history; the other two are much narrower in scope, dealing, as they do, with certain problems of regional constitutional history. Each of the monographs is based on the primary sources and provided with full documentation and an extensive bibliography.

Perdenia's study deals with the period between the Treaty of Andrusovo (1667) when the Ukraine was divided between Russia and Poland and the years 1711-1714 when this division was once more reaffirmed by the treaties with Turkey and the final withdrawal of the Russian armies from the Polish territory. The focus of the author's interest is the complex interplay of the Polish attempts to use the Cossacks of the right bank of the Dnieper against both Turkey and Russia, the resistance of these Cossacks against the Polish economic and religious domination, and the subtle political maneuvers of Russia and the Ukrainian hetmanate, each pursuing its own ends. The culmination of the story is the last major Cossack uprising against the Poles (1702-1704) and the last Pyrrhic victory of the old royal republic, which permitted it to retain for a time some of its Ukrainian territories, but made Ukraine a permanent, if unwilling, satellite of Russia. Although the author made some attempt to present this last chapter in the Polish-Cossack struggle against its economic as well as its political background, his treatment gives the impression of being exceedingly "micro-historical." The study is cluttered with detail and filled with a plethora of names seldom, if ever, identified.

The title of the monograph speaks of the attitude of the Polish state toward the problem of the Ukraine, but the book contains no systematic discussion of the views of Polish leaders or factions, not even of such policy makers as King John Sobieski. The book suffers also from the author's failure to relate the events discussed to the over-all predicament of the Polish state facing, at the same time, a series of foreign invasions and a profound internal crisis. Thus, while definitely a valuable contribution, the monograph could hardly be considered a definitive work on the subject.

In contrast to Perdenia's book, the scope of Wąsicki's study is limited both territorially and chronologically. It deals with eleven years of Prussian rule over a small portion of Poland, which was seized by the Hohenzollerns in the second and third partitions of the country and was organized as a separate province: "Neuostpreussen" (1795-1807). The author discusses systematically not only all the aspects of the new administration, but provides as well a clear picture of the social structure and culture of the province at the time of occupation. The book is a continuation of the author's extensive survey of Prussian rule in Polish territories, of which the first volume was published in 1957.

The last of the monographs deals with certain aspects of the fiscal policy of the medieval dukes of western Pomerania, ending with 1295 when the principality was split into two distinct parts. The author discusses ducal monopolies in such matters as coinage, tariffs, markets, innkeeping, milling, mining, hunting, fishing, beekeeping, and the right to shipwrecks (*ius naufragii*) and shows how these were gradually eroded by the grants to the Church and to various individuals.

Both this study and that by Wąsicki are provided with résumés in German. Wąsicki's volume has also a useful map of the "Neuostpreussen." Only Perdenia's book has an index.

MacMurray College

KONSTANTIN SYMMONS-SYMONOLEWICZ

FIRST BLOOD: THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905. By *Sidney Harcave*. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1964. Pp. 316. \$5.75.)

PROFESSOR Harcave's excellent study exploits primary sources published during recent years by the Soviet government. It begins with concise summaries of the main currents of development toward revolution through 1904, then proceeds to a detailed examination of what the author classifies as the four phases of the Revolution. The concluding analysis of the settlement in 1906 carefully weighs the political structure and promise of the new "constitutional monarchy run by an autocrat," discusses the early effects of Stolypin's agrarian reforms, and characterizes the changed quality of opposition in the postrevolutionary milieu. For his exceedingly valuable appendix the author has translated official documents, political programs of the opposition parties, and the plaintive and pitiful workers' petition Father Gapon planned to present to Tsar Nicholas on January 9.

The chapter dealing with the *Gaponovshchina* is perhaps the most interesting. Against a background of bumbling officialdom, Harcave provides virtually an hour-by-hour narrative of the feverish scheming and planning carried out by Gapon and his followers during the first eight days of 1905. The account of how Gapon's projected "peaceful demonstration" fell athwart officials almost incapable of rational social analysis or responsible political action reads like a scholarly synopsis of some Greek tragedy nourished on heroic faults and Zeus contrived accident. After describing the events of Bloody Sunday, Harcave traces the growing dissatisfaction and hardening of attitudes, which spread until university students, professional groups, zemstvo representatives, political parties, indeed most of educated "society," had taken up positions condemning the autocracy and demanding reform or revolution. Striking workers and rebellious peasants from Tiflis to Congress Poland, feckless tsarist conciliatory efforts, and Japanese victory in the Tsushima Straits encouraged civil violence, burgeoning strikes, and mutiny. The October General Strike is developed so quietly that the reader, like Nicholas and his officials, is almost unaware of the immense potential danger. Suddenly so many different groups were striking that the impression gained is of a nationwide, centrally organized movement, fully capable of destroying the autoc-

racy. Harcave lists on strike: "about one million factory workers, over seven hundred thousand railroadmen, fifty thousand government employees, and tens of thousands of clerks in offices and retail stores, professionals, and students." It is understandable that the stubborn Nicholas capitulated.

In sum, this is a brief and well-balanced work that considers all significant developments of a complex historical process but that, for lack of space, does not delve very deeply into a multitude of lesser issues. It is the best short study of the 1905 Revolution in English, and it should be read by every student of revolution in modern Russia.

Michigan State University

ARTHUR E. ADAMS

VOSPOMINANIIA O FEVRAL'SKOI REVOLIUTSII [Reminiscences of the February Revolution]. In two volumes. By *I. G. Tsereteli*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Sciences économiques et sociales. Études sur l'histoire, l'économie et la sociologie des pays slaves, Volume VII.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1963. Pp. xxxi, 492; 429.)

WHY were the democratic forces in the Russian Revolution of 1917 defeated? To a large extent these lengthy memoirs by a Menshevik leader of the Petrograd Soviet, who also served in the first coalition cabinet of the provisional government, are an attempt to answer this intriguing question. Although often repetitious and too detailed, Tsereteli's account is a significant contribution to the literature on the Revolution. He clarifies certain events of the spring and summer of 1917, and, most importantly, he vividly and clearly depicts the spirit and outlook that guided the policies of the majority leadership of the Soviet in the first months of the Revolution.

Beginning with a revealing chapter on his experiences in Siberian exile, during which he first developed close ties with A. R. Gots and other Social Revolutionary leaders, the author carries his story through the formation of the second coalition cabinet in mid-July 1917. Unfortunately failing health prior to his death in 1959 prevented Tsereteli from fulfilling his plan to continue the narrative through the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in January 1918.

As with most memoirs the book is largely an apologia. Tsereteli engages in mild polemics with other memoirists and historians of the Revolution, notably Sukhanov, Miliukov, and Trotsky. He admits only two mistakes in the policy of the leaders of the pre-Bolshevik Soviet: their failure to devote sufficient time and energy to accelerating the holding of elections to the Constituent Assembly and their lack of attention to the demands of the national minorities in Russia for autonomy. He insists time and again that throughout the first five months of the Revolution the great majority of workers and soldiers firmly supported the moderate leadership of the Soviet and that the Bolsheviks had relatively little influence among the masses. Tsereteli vigorously and often persuasively defends the policies of the Menshevik-SR Center on war and peace and on land reform. In the

process he provides valuable information on the differences of the Soviet with the first cabinet of the provisional government over war aims and on the Soviet leaders' negotiations with European socialist parties on the same question.

He accuses the Bolsheviks of encouraging the July uprisings and Miliukov and the Cadet Right of sabotaging the first coalition cabinet. His general conclusion is, nevertheless, that Soviet democracy failed because it was unduly preoccupied with the potential threat of counterrevolution and because it lacked the will to govern and to act. Particularly, Tsereteli argues, it refused to exercise authority and to take responsibility when, after the July Days, it became clear that broad repressive measures should be taken against the Bolsheviks. Thus, the Soviet acquiesced in the formation of a weak and isolated government that was doomed. But the author fails to explain how the Soviet could have overcome strong opposition from the liberals to the establishment of a powerful socialist cabinet.

The chief disappointments of the memoirs are that they contain little on the relations among the leaders of the Soviet and on the nature of its day-to-day activity and that Tsereteli fails to characterize effectively any of the people he knew so well.

Indiana University

JOHN M. THOMPSON

THE SECOND SOVIET REPUBLIC: THE UKRAINE AFTER WORLD WAR II. By *Yaroslav Bilinsky*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1964. Pp. xvii, 539. \$12.50.)

INVESTIGATION of events of the past two decades in the Ukrainian SSR is a formidable undertaking which the author has fulfilled with distinction. The major part of this study consists of ten chapters in which Ukrainian national development is examined in terms of key criteria and issues. A general introductory chapter deals with the principal characteristics of the period and is followed by an extensive treatment of the industrial, demographic, and socioeconomic bases of Ukrainian nationalism. The western Ukraine is treated thoroughly and succinctly in the chapters devoted to the integration of that region into the Ukrainian SSR (in terms of administrative, agricultural, and religious policies) and the resistance offered by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the underground.

A separate chapter on Soviet linguistic policy examines various measures employed by the regime to permit and discourage use of the Ukrainian language and includes considerable statistical evidence regarding its use. The author's treatment of the regime's distortion of national symbols and cultural and historiographic themes for purposes of political control should be of particular interest to historians. Here the author has examined the use which the Soviet regime has attempted to make of the works of the greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko. In the historiographic chapter the author deals largely with Soviet interpretations of the Pereyaslav Treaty and gives special attention to its tercentenary in 1954. He concludes that falsification can be detected in the Soviet Union by "the average intelli-

gent person" since "Soviet historians are *always* faced with the problem of how many qualifying facts to introduce so as to make their argument convincing and yet stay within the bounds of the Party formula." He also notes that "to reinterpret six to ten centuries of a nation's history is not so simple." Other chapters deal with the development of Ukrainian Communist party cadres (which have increased significantly in recent years along with Ukrainian administrative and professional cadres, although all are disproportionately low in relation to the size of the Ukrainian population) and with the role of the Ukrainian SSR in international affairs as a result of its membership in the United Nations and in the specialized agencies.

No review can convey the wealth of detailed evidence presented by the author. The ten chapters have 79 pages of notes and a bibliography of 60 pages. Fifty-five pages of appendixes contain important documents and longer explanatory notes. The study includes 35 tables based on statistical data culled from a wide variety of official sources; these tables speak volumes. Professor Bilinsky also conducted 110 personal interviews with refugees (32 of whom were postwar, including 11 former prisoners in Soviet forced labor camps) and with observant travelers and scholars who visited the Ukraine in recent years. This superbly documented work is obviously the result of years of conscientious and painstaking research; at times it approaches the encyclopedic. It is written with care, subtlety, and understanding. Its judiciously formulated conclusions do not go beyond the evidence.

The author has identified the principal forces affecting Ukrainian national cohesiveness and has raised questions and presented data that challenge many stereotypes regarding the Soviet Union in general and Ukrainians in particular. He has documented not only the Communist party's attacks on Ukrainian nationalism and its criticism of writers and historians but also the more recent outspoken criticism of Moscow's cultural and educational policies expressed by Ukrainian cadres along with demands for greater autonomy. Bilinsky's sophisticated study contributes immeasurably not only to our knowledge of Ukrainian developments but to our understanding of Soviet nationality policy and of relations between nationalities in the USSR.

University of Washington

JOHN S. RESHETAR, JR.

Africa

HISTOIRE DU CAMEROUN. By *Engelbert Mveng*. (Paris: Éditions Présence Africaine. 1963. Pp. 533. 28 fr.)

KENYA: A POLITICAL HISTORY. THE COLONIAL PERIOD. By *George Bennett*. [Students' Library Series, Volume I.] (London: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. 190. 6s.)

THE Federal Republic of Cameroon lies at the crossroads of West and Central Africa in the ethnic shatter zone between the Niger and the Congo River Basins.

Islam, Catholicism, and Protestantism have won almost equal numbers of adherents among its diverse peoples. At various times in the past eight decades three major colonial powers—Germany, France, and Britain—have administered all or parts of its territories, the latter two powers under League of Nations and later United Nations supervision. These factors, among others, have made Cameroon's historical evolution extremely complex.

In attempting to write a lucid five-hundred-page history centered upon the peoples within the future Cameroon and in particular upon the major developments that brought the nation into being, the Reverend Engelbert Mveng faced a formidable task. It is one that he has acquitted well. A Cameroonian educated at Louvain, Mveng today teaches at the Collège Libermann in Douala. He may well be the first professionally trained African scholar to write a full-length history of his own country. Though he is writing a national history, he consistently places it within the larger framework of African history. He devotes the first half of the book to the precolonial period, dealing in rich detail with both the forest peoples and the savanna empires. His descriptions of the early nineteenth-century Fulani conquest of the north and their subsequent enslavement and oppression of the pagan majority are frank but accurate. They do not merit the accusation of bias leveled by two Cameroonian reviewers of northern ancestry. Mveng is equally vigorous in condemning the nominally Christian European slave traders on the coast. A real defect of the book is the almost complete absence (two pages only) of material on the sections of Cameroon that the British administered between 1916 and 1961. Also, the chapter on the political evolution of the larger French administered section between 1945 and 1960 is sketchy at best. (Fortunately, it is this period that the works of Franz Ansprenger, Victor Le Vine, J.-M. Zang-Atangana, and I have covered most intensively.)

Other than an excellent section on the rise of labor unions based on unpublished documents and personal interviews, the study is largely based on the existing published materials in French, English, and German. Mveng lists these sources in great detail in a twenty-five-page bibliography with the intention that other scholars will use his work as the basis for further research. He does not see his study as either a definitive work or a synthesis, and in this he is correct. But in presenting the outlines of Cameroonian history in lucid fashion, Mveng has provided both an excellent foundation for later researchers and a useful account for the general reader for many years to come. The volume has many illustrations and two dozen maps.

It is hoped that the modest format in which George Bennett has presented his political history of the colonial period in Kenya will not lead scholars to neglect this excellent study. Designed as the first volume in the Oxford "Students' Library" for use by secondary-school pupils in Africa, Bennett's paperback has two fine maps, appendixes of officeholders, and a good index. It is based on Foreign Office and Colonial Office records as well as published sources. The first two-thirds of the study deals with the actions of the British government, the Kenya govern-

ment, and the settlers; the last third concerns the African reactions that led eventually to independence. Occasionally a bit too factual and sometimes insufficiently interpretive, the book nevertheless is an amazing feat of compression. As the only comprehensive work on this topic, it is a very real contribution to our understanding of Kenyan history.

Bowling Green State University

DAVID E. GARDINIER

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL AFRICA. By
A. J. Wills. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 386. \$4.00.)

Writing a regional history is never an easy task, especially when the regional unit is as arbitrarily defined as the European created colonial units of Africa. Not only has the colonial era left its legacy of inherited borders, but it has also left its imprint on the geographical definition of areas of study of the precolonial era. That a historical unity can be given to an area like that of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is a tribute to the organizational abilities of any author. The area dealt with here is ethnically and geographically diverse, and the divergent streams of tribal history came together only as they yielded to the single unifying factor of British imperial expansion.

This book is meant as an introduction for both the general reader and African teachers and students to the history of Zambia, Rhodesia, and Malawi, until recently known as Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland. Although the work is not the first of its kind, it succeeds where others have failed in its presentation of precolonial African history on the basis of recent anthropological, archaeological, and linguistic, as well as historical research. While the first third of the book is an excellent synthesis of African background elements, including a sensible treatment of Zimbabwe, the second third of the book deals equally well with the confrontation between the various African tribal societies and the invading Europeans as striking figures like Lobengula and Lewanika encountered dynamic and quasi-legendary Europeans like Livingstone, the Moffats, Rhodes, and Harry Johnston in preparation for the final submission of Africans to British rule.

In contrast with his balanced treatment of earlier African history and of the prelude to the colonial period, Wills's presentation of Central African history in the twentieth century is essentially an essay in colonial history and contributes little on the great social and religious changes caused by the economic development of Rhodesian minerals and white settler farms and by the South African demand for migrant labor. His chapters on the economic history of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland are excellent, but they do not help the reader to understand the shift from European control to African independence after a half century of European-oriented economic development and political domination. Although the Chibemwe uprising in 1915, like that of Alice Lenshina in 1964, was indicative of the strains of an apparently submerged African society denied political expression,

Wills too easily accepts "the silence of the years that followed" as evidence of African culture shock and submission, just as he earlier attributed lack of Bantu resistance to the Arab slave trade to "a fatalism characteristic of the race." One cannot escape the conclusion that, his protestations to the contrary, Wills pictures his audience as Europeans or highly Europeanized Africans who gauge the size of Barotseland by comparing it to that of Ireland. It is to be hoped that in a second edition more will be said about the African awakening and that the last chapters of the book will be as comprehensive and balanced as the excellent earlier chapters.

Northwestern University

ROBERT L. HESS

HISTOIRE DE L'ALGÉRIE CONTEMPORAINE. Volume I, LE CONQUÊTE ET LES DÉBUTS DE LA COLONISATION (1827-1871). By *Charles-André Julien*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1964. Pp. 632.)

In this volume the *Professeur honoraire à la Sorbonne, Doyen honoraire de la Faculté des Lettres de Rabat*, devotes nine solid chapters to an analysis of Algeria during the first half century of French occupation and colonization. Having already produced by far the best books on nationalism in the Maghrib, Charles-André Julien keeps faith with his audience in this most recent essay.

Intended for the general reader and published in the same beautiful, flawless format created by the Presses Universitaires de France for the valuable six-volume *Histoire Générale des Civilisations*, this book far exceeds its modest target. The author's control of the data is sure, his ability to synthesize and judge so mature, so fair-minded, that his work is truly an important contribution. The book overshadows such an older respected work as that of Augustin Bernard's *L'Algérie*, done in 1930 to celebrate the centennial of the occupation. This new effort surely informs the "curious intellects who seek accurate information on a history usually badly known," and even less often understood, but, more important to readers of the *American Historical Review*, it points the way to a much deeper understanding of the colonization and decolonization process. And for those teachers of European history who take a deep breath each time an unimaginative graduate student asks, "Professor, can you suggest a subject for my dissertation?" this book contains implicitly many sound suggestions.

On the theory that there are also some tired, uncreative professors, here are some ideas that popped into my head while reading Julien's analysis. We have no study of the influence of Algeria and North Africa upon the French painters and writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Yet most children who grow up in a big city know about Delacroix and Camus, and there are many others including Daudet. Nor do we have a sharp critical study of French theories of colonization in the Maghrib, or, for that matter, of colonial practices and policy evolution. And if there is a study of French policy toward the tribes of Northwest Africa, a study in the round, it is not known to this "specialist." And what about land policy? This subject, which plays such an important role in American history in some

quarters as almost to have been beaten to death, is scarcely, it seems, investigated in the French Northwest African preserve—at least not in broad enough sweep to lead to serious general conclusions. Finally, by relating major developments in France, such as the 1848 Revolutions, the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, the Franco-Prussian War, to attitudes and performance in the colonies, Julien suggests a host of appealing action-counteraction topics.

This is the best study of Algeria from “D day” to Sedan. It will be followed with a volume on the Maghrib, 1870–1962.

Northwestern University

RICHARD M. BRACE

Asia and the East

LI HUNG-CHANG AND THE HUAI ARMY: A STUDY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHINESE REGIONALISM. By *Stanley Spector*. Introduction by *Franz Michael*. [University of Washington Publications on Asia.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1964. Pp. xliii, 359. \$9.50.)

ACCORDING to one interpretation, the regional armies organized by members of the gentry to defeat the Taiping rebels were the forerunners of the twentieth-century warlord armies. Regional leaders like Li Hung-chang built armies personally loyal to them; they developed their own bureaucratic machines supported by local taxes. As a result, the balance of power between central government and bureaucratic factions was upset, with the central administration never recapturing the initiative. Neither the regional leaders nor the dynasty could thenceforth guide China in a coherent, national program of modernization. This thesis, formulated by such well-known scholars as Teng Ssu-yü, Lo Erh-kang, and Franz Michael, is briefly summarized in Michael's introduction to Spector's book. The thesis also furnishes the framework for Spector's detailed study of Li as a regional leader. Though Spector's sources include both Chinese- and English-language materials, he has depended most heavily on the collected works of Li Hung-chang and Tseng Kuo-fan, and, to a considerable extent, we see the picture through the eyes of these two great Chinese.

A thesis can be a valuable guide in sifting and interpreting materials, but it can also narrow the author's vision. One gains the impression that Spector has collected data covering a broad spectrum but that the thesis has been master in the presentation. Though there is merit in the theme that Li was primarily interested in his regional power and that the limitations of his regional approach undercut the effectiveness of his reforms, it is repeated with such frequency that the reader finds himself pleading for a more complex harmony. Emphasis on this one note deters Spector from presenting the symphony in its fullness. Surely other reasons for the limited success of Li's reform projects should receive greater attention. Surely Li's every policy decision was not determined by regional interests. As to

the larger thesis concerning the connection between regional autonomy and the disintegration of Ch'ing China, Spector's work does not clearly demonstrate the causal relation. It is true that Li's powers were far more extensive than those of most bureaucratic leaders; the major contribution of this work, nevertheless, would not seem to lie in its emphasis on the uniqueness of Li's position and its contribution to the destruction of the dynasty and the Chinese heritage. Rather, the book is valuable because it offers insights concerning a common phenomenon in China and one deserving further research: bureaucratic factionalism, its organization and operation.

Spector presents much useful data on the techniques whereby Li built up his bureaucratic faction. To watch Li as he places his own men in key positions, as he gains control of many of the tax resources of the Yangtze Valley, as he uses the refugee gentry in Shanghai to offset the power of the regular bureaucracy, and as he juggles authority derived from a multiplicity of offices—all this is fascinating, indeed. To observe Li's order of priority as he consolidates his influence is instructive.

Spector also provides considerable detail on Li's financial resources and on Li's use of his fiscal power to enhance his political and military influence. The revelation of the growing importance of trade as a source of revenue and the fiscal importance of Shanghai as early as the 1860's is noteworthy. The serious, even desperate financial straits of the military leaders is a constant theme. Spector says, for example, that financial difficulties lay behind the fact that Li's army did not participate in the capture of Nanking from the Taipings. The reason was not that Li did not wish to detract from the glory of Tseng Kuo-fan; it was, rather, that Tseng saw no way to make up the back pay of his troops except to reserve for them the sacking of Nanking. Spector does not provide as much information on the dispersal of funds by the regional leaders as he does on their sources of revenue; one could wish for greater detail on the former.

Douglass College

JESSIE G. LUTZ

MUSLIM CIVILIZATION IN INDIA. By S. M. *Ikram*. Edited by *Ainslie T. Embree*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 325. \$6.00.)

ISLAM's advent in India was an event of far-reaching significance both for Indian civilization and Islam. Islam came to India not merely as a body of theological, metaphysical, and ethical concepts; in a significant measure it symbolized for the Hindus alien armies and methods of warfare, economic organization and administrative institutions, at least at the higher levels. The mission of Islam everywhere was to convert the *Dar-ul-Harb* into *Dar-ul-Islam*, and in most areas it was largely accomplished. In India, however, Islamic rule had to come to terms with the persistent fact that a majority of the population under its control refused to accept the new religious persuasion in its institutionalized form. And if Hindu civilization could not remain the same after the advent of Islam, Islam also had to

evolve its own specific Indian form as a result of interaction with Hinduism and its new Indian environment.

The result was the evolution of an Indo-Muslim civilization strikingly different from Islamic civilization in other parts of the world. The story of this Indo-Islamic civilization is told in a fascinating manner in this work. As pointed out in the preface, the book is an abridgment of a much larger volume published two years ago. The present edition seems to have been prepared to help the nonspecialist understand the dominant political and cultural elements that combined in the making of Muslim civilization in India. The framework is essentially historical-chronological and is in two parts. In the first part the progress of Islam from the Arab invasion (A.D. 712) to the fall of the Lodis (1526) is traced in broad relief. The second part carries the narrative forward from Babur (1526-1530) to the formal exit of the Timurids (1857). The historical sections are followed by perceptive chapters on political institutions, society, and culture and the interaction between Islam and Hinduism.

A general survey, especially in an abridged form, inevitably suffers from certain limitations. Depth is sometimes sacrificed for comprehensiveness in treating the subject, and broad and occasionally sweeping generalizations become unavoidable. The work suffers from both these defects. There is also a general reliance on secondary sources. A few points such as the role of the ulama in Muslim polity, failure of Akbar's religious policy ascribed to Hindu revivalism, and the extent of Islamic influence on the religious movements in Maharashtra and Bengal can be seriously argued and an entirely different case outlined. Muslim rule was a historical process dedicated to the accomplishment of certain well-defined objectives, and it was inevitable that it created conditions of degradation, from time to time, for the non-Muslim subjects. No special pleading can alter this fact, and there is scarcely need for such pleading. Muslim civilization was highly creative in many fields of endeavor in India, and every civilization imposes its own penalties on those who do not accept its fundamental premises.

Wake Forest College

B. G. GOKHALE

Americas

ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM IN AMERICAN LIFE. By *Richard Hofstadter*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1963. Pp. ix, 434, xiii. \$6.95.)

It is obviously possible to write a history of antislavery or of the Anti-Saloon League. Is it possible, in the same fashion, to write a history of anti-intellectualism? The author of the present work begins by conceding that it is not. "Anti-intellectualism," he remarks, "cannot be made the subject of a formal history in quite the same way as . . . the development of an institution or a social movement." He offers, he says, "a personal book," developing his theme "in a manner that is by choice rather impulsive."

Were this modest disclaimer to be taken at face value, the book would still be an important one, for Professor Hofstadter is a sensitive analyst of the tensions that exist between society and the intellectual. This review would have appeared more promptly could I have rested content with discussing the book simply as a collection of Hofstadter's observations, opinions, and insights. The work, however, demands a less impressionistic treatment than this, for it does present itself, despite the disavowal, as formal history.

The difficulty (which, for me, persisted through several rereadings) is to define exactly what it is a history of. The entire sweep of American history is traversed several times, permitting the author to examine anti-intellectualism in four different contexts: religious, political, economic, and educational. The four separate narratives, however, fail to coalesce into a single well-integrated history. The author points out so few occasions on which anti-intellectualism in one realm reinforced it in another, that one comes away wondering whether anti-intellectualism can properly be described as "a force in American life," or whether, instead, a handy label is not being loosely applied to vaguely similar, but in reality quite disparate, tendencies.

In Hofstadter's account, the nature of the conflict and the parties to it seem to vary almost without limit. Sometimes intellectuals as a class are pictured as under attack by other classes in society, such as businessmen. At other times, anti-intellectualism is presented as emerging out of conflicts of emphasis or interest within a single professional group, such as the clergy. At still other times, anti-intellectualism is viewed as a clash of ideas rather than a clash of interested social groups. Finally, on many occasions, the ideas themselves grow tenuous, leaving anti-intellectualism as little more than one demagogue's device for belittling an opponent.

What, then, is the essential subject matter of this study? Is it a history of the changing status and repute of the intellectual class in America? Or the history of a body of ideas? Or the history of a psychological state, compounded of suspicion and hostility? In the present book Hofstadter nowhere faces these questions squarely. In a subsequently published article, however, he seems finally to have done so. Writing in *Harper's Magazine* for November 1964, he discusses "The Paranoid Style in American Politics." The crucial term here is "style." He is not attempting "to classify any figures of the past or present as certifiable lunatics." He is studying, as he clearly and frankly states, "the use of paranoid modes of expression by more or less normal people." He sums up his purpose in a sentence that can retrospectively be applied to his book: "I am interested here in getting at our political psychology through our political rhetoric."

This book is, in reality, a historical examination of the elements that have combined to create the anti-intellectualist "style" that so frequently characterizes public discourse in the United States. To view the book in this light is to give it a coherence that at first reading it seems to lack. Such a view, furthermore, adds point to the warning that the author clearly wishes to convey. Anti-intellectualist

rhetoric cannot be trusted to remain mere rhetoric. For a terrifying moment in the 1950's McCarthyism threatened to convert what had been a mere convention of "style"—the rather offhand denigration of intellect—into a weapon wielded with deadly intent against intellectual values themselves. Hofstadter's book stands as a warning to the nation against playing, as it did only a few years ago, with dynamite.

University of Washington

ARTHUR BESTOR

THE MACHINE IN THE GARDEN: TECHNOLOGY AND THE PASTORAL IDEAL IN AMERICA. By *Leo Marx*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. 392. \$6.75.)

THE thesis of this impressive book is important, and Professor Marx has found a wealth of material to support it.

The thesis resists synopsis, but even a bare outline will suggest some of its subtleties. Elizabethan images of the New World already showed a paradox of oppositions. At one end of the spectrum was the wilderness; at the other was nature's garden. To primitivists the notion of the teeming, untamed wilderness appealed down through the years. But as soon as settlement began in earnest this sentimental notion gave way to the idea of the American garden that man must make. Robert Beverley, in his *History and Present State of Virginia* (1705), shows how this shift was taking place. Although he was a rapturous admirer of "the Advantages of this Country, as Nature made it," he hoped to see this land he loved become a "garden" in a quite different sense. Beverley was groping toward the concept of "the middle landscape," so much admired by later eighteenth-century poets, painters, and philosophers. By the time of Crèvecoeur Americans could define this landscape, according to Marx, as a "made thing, a fusion of work and spontaneous process." As an agricultural people, Americans would be saved from the ills of Europe because they lived in Arcadia.

This blessed notion could not prevail after the noise of the machine began to be heard in the garden. Jefferson had seen the new machines when he lived abroad, but he did not for some time understand that they would bring with them the factory system and industrialized cities. Hamilton, of course, did, and was blunt about the fact, in his Report on Manufactures. Tench Coxe, who assisted Hamilton in preparing the Report, felt the need of making a place for the machine in the myth of the garden and had succeeded in doing so, to the satisfaction of many, in two remarkable speeches delivered when the Constitutional Convention was meeting. From this time on the attempts at accommodation were many and ingenious.

The arguments make these points. Because of the power of the machine, man no longer stands trembling amid the forces of nature. The machine has accelerated the process of history. To look at a steamboat is to see the sublime progress of the race. Steam power, by relieving man from physical work, will upset the "moral economy of the world," for the better, of course. Finally, the machine is to be

looked on as the birthright of Americans. It is "one agent which we can call peculiarly our own, and in the application of which, the nation is destined to excel."

For most Americans the arrival of the machine in the garden, particularly the redemptive locomotive, was an occasion for rejoicing. But many of our writers had and would continue to have misgivings. At this point in his exposition Marx turns to an examination of what the machine in the garden meant, successively, to Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville, Mark Twain, Henry Adams, and Henry James. It will surprise even the experts, I think, to see how pervasive this theme has been in our literature. Nor has it vanished in the present age. Many modern writers pay tribute to the image of the green landscape, but their resolutions are likely to be ironic and bitter because "the old symbol of reconciliation is obsolete." But they have served us well: "by incorporating in their work the root conflict of our culture, they have clarified our situation."

Princeton University

WILLARD THORP

AMERICAN HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. Edited by *Edward N. Saveth*. ([New York:] Free Press of Glencoe. 1964. Pp. viii, 599. \$9.95.)

THERE are nonbooks that transcend the profit-making conventions of the genre. *American History and the Social Sciences* is one. Edward N. Saveth has collected thirty-five articles, all previously published in books or journals, grouped them under various rubrics, written an introduction on "The Conceptualization of American History," and so provided a bulky yet portable package on the matter of the relation between the historian and the social sciences.

The book is divided into five parts: Part I, Saveth's introduction; Part II, "History and the Disciplines," seven articles by spokesmen for the disciplines of the social sciences (economics, geography, sociology, political science, anthropology, psychology, and psychoanalysis); Part III, "The Concepts," twenty-one articles by historians dealing explicitly or implicitly with such concepts as motivation, social structure, status politics, intergroup conflict, and national character; Part IV, three articles on "Quantification and Machine Processes"; Part V, "Beyond Social Science," four cautionary articles by four historians.

One suspects that historians will derive the greatest value from Part III, the examples of historians whose work involves conceptual schemes that carry their writing beyond the limits of sheer narrative and the dubious insistence on the uniqueness of historical events. The potential worth of these concrete instances has been increased by Saveth's succinct headnotes, providing bibliographies of related examples and pointing to theoretical statements by social scientists about the nature of the concept involved.

Part II will be far less satisfying to the historian, simply because much of the discussion is not addressed to him. Karl W. Deutsch, for example, speaking for "Sociology," is represented by an essay reviewing Schumpeter's work. The curious

should turn to such books as Robert K. Merton *et al.*, *Sociology Today, Problems and Prospect* (1959), or Gardner Lindzey's fine *Handbook of Social Psychology* (1954), to determine what insight one can derive from such disciplines. In lesser degree, the same remark holds true for the other essays in Part II. The authors are generally addressing their peers on the historical dimension of their own subject, not the relevance of their subject to the historian. Here, the decision to gather articles in print shows its weakness; it would have greatly strengthened the book to have commissioned essays by social scientists and given them the task of addressing the subject of history and the social sciences directly.

Yet this book dramatizes an important fact. Some of our best historians are moving beyond sheer speculation and theory about the relation of history to other disciplines. They are doing work that displays the advantages of such a relation. Marc Bloch remarked long ago that human beings are always and finally the subject of history. The historian who is open to any way of looking at man that enriches his understanding of the nature of human nature will find an abundance of perspectives in Saveth's useful collection.

Amherst College

JOHN WILLIAM WARD

THE ECONOMICS OF SLAVERY: AND OTHER STUDIES IN ECONOMETRIC HISTORY. By *Alfred H. Conrad* and *John R. Meyer*. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. 1964. Pp. ix, 241. \$5.75.)

For several decades now economic historians have sought to narrow the gap between history and economics by applying concepts and methods drawn from both disciplines to bear upon common problems. If the success of such endeavors has been less than once anticipated, the efforts, nevertheless, continue. One of the most promising approaches in recent years has been the development of econometric history, notably by Robert Fogel and the present authors. The purpose of this study is to demonstrate the values of this orientation in providing new historical perspectives and imaginative methodology.

Not a monograph, but a collection of disparate essays that have little in common except in their underlying approach, the volume ranges over a wide variety of subjects. With minor exceptions, all of the papers have already appeared as articles and are readily available. Two brief introductory chapters delimit the method of the authors. Then follows the best selection in the group, an essay demonstrating the profitability of slavery in the ante bellum South. This Conrad and Meyer lengthen by including comments of critics. Other articles deal with income growth and structural change in nineteenth-century America, and with input-output analysis of British industrial production during the late nineteenth century. A brief postscript on economic growth, not previously published, concludes the book.

A new approach such as this one is bound to incur criticism. Despite an apparent intellectual tidiness of abstract models, they contain hidden assumptions.

These include not only a deterministic belief in the invariance of human behavior patterns. In addition, they reflect a faith that variables with frequent fluctuations will be more important than those with infrequent fluctuations since quantification of the latter would be statistically insignificant. But should statistical convenience determine historical importance? One can detect, moreover, a disinclination of the authors to consider factors that are difficult to quantify. Can the deterrent effect of slavery upon immigration to the ante bellum South, for example, be ignored completely in evaluating slavery's impact upon the region's economic growth? No doubt such difficulties are inherent in model building. Less excusable are deficiencies of style, particularly the confusing organization of some of the essays and their wordy prose.

What do Conrad and Meyer offer to historians? In content, relatively little. The section on slavery is an exception since it furnishes new evidence to substantiate a well-known view. Econometric history seems best suited to restricted problems within a relatively brief span of time. Perhaps the authors' greatest contribution is methodological. They suggest valuable techniques that can be used with a wide range of data. Thus, those who desire to learn more about the application of social science methodology to historical materials can profit considerably from acquaintance with this volume.

University of New Mexico

GERALD D. NASH

MILTON IN EARLY AMERICA. By *George F. Sensabaugh*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 320. \$6.75.)

MILTON's influence in British America was slow to manifest itself in the colonial period, which is a curious and not easily explained fact of literary history. John Locke and Joseph Addison had a far greater impact in the years before the Revolution. Yet, once Milton had become established as a great and "moral" poet, his reputation grew, and his influence became enormously important in the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth centuries. Professor George Sensabaugh has written an effective, readable, and revealing book to show the way in which Milton was accepted and used in early America.

Because of the prominence of the Puritans in the development of New England and their articulate expression in print, one would think that they would have taken the greatest Puritan poet of England to their bosoms and made him their literary saint. Oddly enough, they were slow to appreciate Milton, and it remained for Cotton Mather really to "discover" him and to show an appreciation of his poetry. That is not to say that Milton was totally unknown and unread before that time, but Mather was the first to make much capital out of him. In his life of Sir William Phips, Mather described the problems of Indian warfare and recalled that only Milton's description of the way the hosts of God defeated the rebellious angels in *Paradise Lost* furnished a parallel to the requirements for annihilating the Indians.

Social historians will find Sensabaugh's discussion of the way in which Milton finally became a significant influence in America revealing and instructive. For it was Milton's use by textbookmakers that eventually made him widely known and quoted in America. Those who worry about the propaganda carried by textbooks may find some thought-provoking passages in Sensabaugh's book. A few years before the Revolution, a new kind of textbook for the study of grammar and rhetoric made its appearance. These books were "modern" in that they used examples from writers other than the old stand-bys from the classics. Milton was frequently cited, and his thoughts as well as his poetry soon became a part of common knowledge. After the Revolution, textbooks continued to use Milton for literary examples. Noah Webster, it is true, found considerable patriotic satisfaction in calling attention to errors in syntax committed by Milton, but he could not long hold out against the power of Milton's words. "Milton had spoken so forcefully, and manipulated the English language with such telling effect, that he could not long be presented as an exemplar of linguistic ineptitude, even by so earnest a patriot as Webster," Sensabaugh comments. The impact of textbooks in popularizing Milton and other English authors continued long after the period covered by Sensabaugh. McGuffey's *Readers* were a potent influence in shaping American literary taste and American ideas. One might well wish that current textbooks had such high standards of literary performance.

Some unexpected observations are to be noted in Sensabaugh's discussion of Milton's influence in early America. One would have thought that Milton's noble defense of freedom of expression in *Areopagitica* might have been the one work of Milton's to make the greatest appeal to freedom-loving Americans. Though *Areopagitica* was known and occasionally used, it was Milton's hymn on wedded love in Book IV of *Paradise Lost* that really stirred early Americans. James Bowdoin even paraphrased it to celebrate the marriage of George III to Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Other Americans continued to glorify wedded love with lines from Milton. It struck a responsive chord in the moral nature of Americans, at least in those who put pen to paper.

Sensabaugh's volume is a model for this type of study. Unburdened with the panoply of pedantic lumber that treatises of this nature sometimes carry, the work presents its facts and makes its points with clarity and conviction. Sensabaugh has done his research thoroughly, and he lets the reader see how thorough his investigation has been, but he does not force the reader to follow him through the consultation of every newspaper and almanac. One can read this book with pleasure and go away instructed and informed.

Folger Library

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

COURT RECORDS OF PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY, MARYLAND,
1696-1699. Edited by *Joseph H. Smith* and *Philip A. Crowl*. [American Legal
Records, Volume IX.] (Washington, D. C.: American Historical Association

Court Records of Prince Georges County, Maryland 1125

in collaboration with the Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland. 1964. Pp. cxvii, 674. \$10.00.)

THIS ninth volume of "American Legal Records" is the most recent in a series planned some thirty years ago by a committee of legal and historical scholars, including the late Justice Felix Frankfurter, John Dickinson, and Evarts Boutell Greene, and supported by a grant to the American Historical Association from Mrs. Frank T. Griswold. The purpose of the series was to document the administration of justice in the American colonies through the editing of unpublished court records for various jurisdictions and at various levels.

The Prince Georges' project fitted admirably into this program. It was deliberately conceived to illuminate the third and lowest layer of recorded court business for the province of Maryland. The highest court of that province, the Court of Appeals, had been covered by the inaugural volume of "American Legal Records," under the editorship of that state's Chief Judge Carroll T. Bond, a venture in which I had the good fortune to serve as a collaborator. An extensive series of Provincial and Chancery Court records has been issued by the Maryland Historical Society. To complete the hierarchy of the colonial judicial establishment the choice of Prince Georges County was dictated by the rather complete character of these records compared to older counties where records are not extant. It was also assumed that the Maryland Historical Society would ultimately bring its Provincial Court Series at least down to the end of the seventeenth century. The Prince Georges County court records for the brief span 1696-1699 were transcribed for the Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund and brought out in collaboration with the Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland and with the sustained advice and cooperation of Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist of Maryland.

A formidable, almost an insuperable, problem confronting the Littleton-Griswold Committee has been the dearth in America of editorial talent demanded by ventures of this sort, persons combining legal with historical scholarship. In the present instance two editors, a lawyer and a historian were recruited—Joseph H. Smith of the Columbia Law School and Philip A. Crowl of the Department of State. Their combined introduction serves as an illuminating guide to the technical issues raised in the volume.

From the viewpoint of the legal historian these records have a double significance. They disclose that the law of late seventeenth-century Maryland, even on the lowest judicial level, was anything but informal or crude. On the procedural side the level of technical competence compared with many contemporary local courts in England. The administration of criminal justice might have come right out of Dalton's *Countray Justice*, which clearly served as a model. Furthermore, instead of innovating substantial departures from the English legal system, this county court closely adhered to common law and English local practice, at least in part because, prior to 1700, no collected printed laws of the province were at hand. For this reason little recourse was had to the various remedial actions provided by

the laws of the province that aimed to cut the red tape of English justice. Contrariwise, most of the ranking lawyers of the province appear to have been familiar with the principal acts of Parliament.

To social historians the lack of evidential matter in the formal court minutes leaves meager pickings. A tobacco plantation society based on white indentured rather than slave labor at this date could be expected to have a substantial amount of master-servant litigation, to which this volume attests, along with morals cases. The ten women found guilty of bearing bastard children were all, significantly, servants. In only two cases was the putative father presented. In addition to the usual civil and criminal jurisdiction possessed by inferior courts, Prince Georges County court acted in a broad administrative capacity. It appointed constables, supervised road work, bound out orphans, administered poor relief, granted licenses for the keeping of ordinaries, and authorized allowances of matchcoats to be delivered to Indians as wolf bounties.

Detailed proper name and subject indexes enhance the utility of the volume for both the historian and the lawyer.

Columbia University

RICHARD B. MORRIS

CALLED UNTO LIBERTY: A LIFE OF JONATHAN MAYHEW, 1720–1766. By *Charles W. Akers*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 285. \$6.50.)

As an old man living in honor among his relatives, friends, books, and memories, John Adams took great delight in lecturing to anyone who would listen about the causes, incidents, accidents, and personalities of the American Revolution. One of his best lectures was a letter of February 3, 1818, to Hezekiah Niles (always as delighted to listen as Adams was to lecture), in which he listed the sons of Massachusetts who had been chiefly responsible for the “awakening and revival of American principles” in the opening stages of resistance. “The characters the most conspicuous, the most ardent and influential in this revival, from 1760 to 1766, were, first and foremost, before all and above all, James Otis; next to him was Oxenbridge Thacher; next to him, Samuel Adams; next to him, John Hancock; then Dr. Mayhew.”

This is an interesting catalogue of heroism for the student of the delicate art of biography to contemplate, ranging as it does from a man, Samuel Adams, about whom we know most of what we need to know (and all that we can ever hope to know) to a man, Oxenbridge Thacher, about whom we know so little that he cannot even be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Was the aging Adams confusing Thacher with any one of three or four other possible candidates for inclusion in his list? Did he remember things about his friend’s labors for liberty, which most certainly were effective, that all of us have now forgotten? Or was he simply trying to revive the reputation of a man who had sunk without a trace into the surging stream of American history?

These are questions impossible to answer, but that they are not idle questions—by which I mean to say that John Adams usually knew what he was talking about—is demonstrated by the appearance of a first-class little book about the fifth man on the list, the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew (1720–1766), native of Martha's Vineyard, son of Harvard, and pastor of the West Church in Boston from 1747 until his death. I have long felt that Mayhew, a dedicated if occasionally too prickly advocate of the political and religious liberties of the Bay Colony, deserved a scholarly, understanding, and sympathetic biographer, and it is a pleasure to record that now, in the person of Professor Charles W. Akers, he has got what he deserved. Meticulous in scholarship, sensible in judgment, and clear in style, *Called unto Liberty* is—and I mean this as a candid compliment to both the author and his subject—a model of the definitive biography of the secondary figure in American history. Neither padded nor embroidered, this book presents the life of a remarkable man against the background of his times, and does it in such a way as to give us a fresh understanding of such events as the Great Awakening, the Arminian controversy, the struggle of the New England churches against an American episcopacy, and the resistance of Boston to the Stamp Act, in which the man played so exciting a part.

An occasion for seemingly rejoicing, Akers' biography of Mayhew is also, as he himself would doubtless agree, a reminder of certain enduring discontents. For one cannot help but be moved by the publication of a book as competent and un-presumptuous as this to think discontentedly of all the other primary and secondary figures of that famous era who have never been paid the honor of a modern biography, or, in many cases, of any biography at all. I was moved to think, for example, of the Convention of 1787, and by the time I was finished with a list of the neglected framers—Gerry, King, Gorham, Sherman, Ellsworth, Livingston, the two Morrisises, Luther Martin, Randolph, Wythe, all the South Carolinians, and Baldwin (just to take the most conspicuous examples)—I was more aware than I had been for years of the immensity of this one of the many unfinished tasks of American historiography. For his stimulation of this kind of thought, as for his model biography, students of the Revolution can be grateful to Akers.

Cornell University

CLINTON ROSSITER

PAMPHLETS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1750–1776. Volume I, 1750–1765. Edited by *Bernard Bailyn* with the assistance of *Jane N. Garrett*. [The John Harvard Library.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 771. \$12.95.)

This is the first installment of a four-volume edition of American revolutionary pamphlets published in the years 1750–1776. From a formidable bibliography of over four hundred titles, Bernard Bailyn has selected seventy-two pamphlets as worthy of inclusion in what will undoubtedly become the authoritative canon on the subject. Only American imprints qualify; the selection has been guided by

criteria of contemporary fame, representative character, literary distinction, and originality of thought; and each pamphlet is reprinted in entirety. The complete list is a medley of all kinds of writings—sermons, poetry, dialogues, public letters, orations, small treatises, expository essays, satires, and burlesques. Only a prodigy will be familiar with as many as one-quarter of these. The list includes the familiar titles, of course, though with some surprising exceptions. John Adams is represented by his *Thoughts on Government* (1776) but not by that “lamentable bagatelle,” *A Dissertation on Canon and Feudal Law* (1765) or by the *Novanglus* essays (1774–75). Neither of Alexander Hamilton’s contributions to the pamphlet warfare of 1774 are admitted to the canon, though his Tory antagonist, Samuel Seabury, like Adams’ foe, Daniel Leonard, is represented. If these productions so often quoted by historians did not measure up to Bailyn’s standards, it seems likely that those that did merit the attention he has lavished upon them.

Fourteen pamphlets are reprinted in the first volume. Jonathan Mayhew’s *Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission* (1750) appropriately leads the list. It is followed by several obscure works, some of unknown or doubtful authorship, together with Richard Bland’s *The Colonel Dismounted* (1764), James Otis’ *Rights of the British Colonies* (1764) and *Vindication of the British Colonies* (1765), Daniel Dulany’s *Considerations* (1765), and concluding with John Dickinson’s impressive *The Late Regulations* (1765). Each pamphlet is introduced by a long editorial note that sketches the life of the author (or putative author), establishes the context of the document, interprets it, and evaluates its influence. The texts, while modernized, are scrupulously handled and annotated so far as may be necessary. In short, the editorial procedures conform to the highest standards of scholarship.

But this volume has the added distinction of Bailyn’s general introduction, a two-hundred-page interpretive essay, “The Transforming Radicalism of the American Revolution,” based upon his analysis of the pamphlet literature. From his “inner view,” he is impressed with “the unpredictable reality of the Revolution,” which led the colonists gradually, indeliberately, half-knowingly, as they struggled to work out the implications of their principles and beliefs under the pressure of events, into “a new world of political thought.” The consummation of 1776 was not, in any primary sense, a “social revolution,” but it was an intellectual revolution in the sense that it marked “the triumph of ideas and attitudes incompatible with the stability of any standing order, any establishment—incompatible with society itself, as it had been traditionally known.” This transforming radicalism of the mind, which was itself a product of the colonists’ half-conscious gropings toward the conceptualization of the unique American experience, led the Americans in time to transform “the essentials of social organization” as well. Bailyn begins this analysis with a discrimination of the main traditions of thought possessed by the Americans: the classical, Enlightenment rationalism, English common law, Puritan theology. But none of these was actually determinative. What was determinative, and what wove the disparate strands into a coherent

whole, was the antiauthoritarian tradition of the seventeenth-century English "commonwealthmen." The eighteenth-century Englishmen in this tradition refused to accept the finality of the Glorious Revolution and the lax political pragmatism that was its sequel. Through the writings of Trenchard and Gordon, Sidney, Hoadly, and their followers, a century-old radicalism long out of fashion in England was transmitted to the colonies, where it defined and clarified native political experience and became the basis, first, of constitutional opposition to England and, when that failed, of "a world regenerative creed." So persuasive was the radical ideology with its rhetoric of "slavery," "corruption," and "oppression" that the revolutionary mind was imbued with the idea of an English "conspiracy against liberty." And so, says Bailyn, "there were real fears, real anxieties, a sense of real danger behind these phrases and not merely the desire to influence by rhetoric and propaganda the inert minds of an otherwise passive populace."

The principal elements of Bailyn's interpretation are not original, but they are analyzed with remarkable subtlety and penetration, and the composition of the whole is very striking. He is, of course, interpreting not the causes of the Revolution but the coming of the Revolution in the American mind, as recorded in the pamphlet literature. In some respects he may invest this literature with too great a significance. To assert, for instance, that it led to "the realization, the comprehension and fulfillment, of . . . America's destiny in the context of world history" calls for far more development of the meaning of American nature and nationality than Bailyn supplies and, one suspects, the raw material makes possible. As comprehensive as his analysis is, such a consummate achievement of the revolutionary movement as the theory and practice of constituent sovereignty remains as mysterious as ever, yet without it the principles of popular sovereignty and consent could not have been implemented. Readers will quarrel with Bailyn on any number of details. This is, nevertheless, the most enlightened interpretation of revolutionary ideology to appear in many years—an exciting introduction to a large and important scholarly enterprise.

University of Virginia

MERRILL D. PETERSON

THE SECRET LOVES OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS: THE ROMANTIC SIDE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, THOMAS JEFFERSON, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, GOUVERNEUR MORRIS, ALEXANDER HAMILTON. By *Charles Callan Tansill*. (New York: Devin-Adair Company. 1964. Pp. xviii, 235. \$4.75.)

In the middle of the twentieth century the so-called "sexual revolution" has been taking place in American culture. Sex is more frankly and honestly handled in American literature; books and magazines devoted directly to sex have proliferated by the dozens; and the mores of society, especially among the young, have enjoyed a transformation that has resulted in a vastly greater honesty and freedom between the sexes than at any time in history, probably, since that of pagan Rome. This

"sexual revolution" seems to indicate more naturalism in American culture than ever was the case before; this, in turn, may probably be a product of the predominance of science and the scientific outlook in contemporary life and thought.

It was, and is, probably to be expected, therefore, that historians, along with psychologists, sociologists, publicists, doctors, novelists, poets, and others, should eventually be caught in this intellectual current and turn their attention to the history of sex and the influence of sex and romantic love upon history.

This last book of Charles Tansill may probably be said to be a manifestation of this natural and expectable intellectual turning of the historians to thoughts of love. There have been others, but this one, consistent with the current mood, is more direct, more frank, more explicit, and more thoughtful relative to this particular phenomenon.

The book purports to be a history of the "secret" loves of five of the founding fathers. Actually, the loves narrated here were not always secret while they were going on, and all of them have been quite well known ever since scholars and others have been probing the documents concerning the lives of these men. There is little or nothing that is new, therefore, in any of these sketches. The originality of the book lies, rather, in the fact that these histories are assembled separately here, in fairly complete and detailed form, and in the fact that the author has had the courage to present, frankly and honestly, this side of these men whom we so highly venerate in our national myths.

Tansill explains his book as the product of his deliberate efforts to make the lectures in his course in American biographies more interesting to students. This, of course, labels the essays as entertainment rather than the product of a serious sociobiographical interest or even an effort to find any genuine historical significance in these behavioral patterns of the "fathers." The author is, furthermore, not always objective about them, but takes a conventional moral explanatory, apologetic, or condemnatory tone. He never quite forgets his veneration for them. The founding fathers loved, to be sure, but they loved like founding fathers.

Indeed, every one of these sketches leaves the reader with a slight feeling of inadequacy. For, while the narratives are largely based upon original letters, those letters are often quoted from other biographies or from printed collections that are well known and have been used extensively by other biographers. Furthermore, it seems to be true that all these men had affairs, casual or relatively lasting, other than those described here, which were numerous and, perhaps, more secret than these, which the author has not taken the trouble to investigate. There are other matters, also, that might have been developed. The author speaks of Morris' "American modesty," for example. Was there really an American morality as compared with French or European morality? Was there a characteristic American attitude toward love and sex? Such questions merit serious study; they may not be taken for granted.

Curiously, the women in the lives of the founding fathers emerge as more interesting than their lovers, and Tansill appears to have more sympathy for them

than for his heroes. Indeed, it may, perhaps, be said that Madame Helvetius, Maria Cosway, Adelaide de Flahaut, and Nancy Randolph Morris are, more than anyone else, the people who lend genuine life and interest to the book.

As a study of love as a significant sociological factor in history, in any case, this book is not to be taken seriously. Written as entertainment, it is to be read as entertainment and nothing more. But the time may probably soon come when serious historians will give genuinely scholarly attention to the role of sexual and romantic love in history and its influence upon many of the aspects of it, whether sociological, cultural, literary, philosophical, political, or other.

University of Washington

MAX SAVELLE and MARGARET FISHER

DIARY OF CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. Volume I, JANUARY 1820-JUNE 1825; Volume II, JULY 1825-SEPTEMBER 1829. INDEX. Edited by *Aida DiPace Donald* and *David Donald*. THE ADAMS PAPERS. Series 1, DIARIES. *L. H. Butterfield*, Editor in Chief. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. lxiv, 469; xi, 514. \$20.00 the set.)

THESE first two volumes of a projected eighteen-volume publication will disappoint few readers in delineating the intellectual and social development of the young Charles Francis Adams. Among the features are a vivid depiction of life in Washington and Cambridge, the courtship of Abigail Brown Brooks, and (most important) the self-searchings and growing confidence of a youth who was to become one of the ablest diplomats in American annals. Historians who have benefited from the Bemis study of John Quincy Adams, and from Martin B. Duberman's biography of the sixth President's son, will find few surprises on page after page. Charles Francis Adams' friends and kinsmen, foes and woes, hopes and aspirations are set forth with all the crispness, candor, and occasional wit that scholars may logically expect.

At his most memorable, Adams the stylist has a fascinating pungency. A man he meets in Washington "society" is a "simpering, whimpering sort of an innocently conceited fop." A shoemaker of his acquaintance is a "queer old put," and a girl with whom the teen-ager dances is "a very good sort of mouse." Twentieth-century high school and college students will probably cheer the prediction of the sixteen-year-old that "if I ever write well, the power of doing it . . . will not have been acquired by writing themes." There is a ring of modernity in the assertion that he had "drunk nearly a bottle and a half of this Champagne Wine and felt quite loaded." In our own time, Alben Barkley declared that "he who tooteth not his own horn alloweth it to remain untooteth." Adams was thinking along the same line when he resorted to blunter and less whimsical language: "He can not succeed who is not plentifully supplied with that fashionable quality called brass." Such samples as these correctly suggest that, at his best, the diarist is far from dull.

Eight pages of Volume I date from early 1820, when Adams was twelve, fol-

lowed by a break of nearly four years. Then, much longer observations and reflections begin at the end of 1823 and continue to September 1829, when he was twenty-two and a proud bridegroom. Not all those entries are detailed, however, the ones for 1825 and the first half of 1826 being markedly brief. Identification notes and the guide to the editorial apparatus are at once sensible and helpful. The introduction, one of the finest I have ever read, might serve (aside from a single, significant interpretation concerning Adams' alleged hot-bloodedness) as a model for other works of its kind. Let it be mentioned, too, that the index, type, and binding meet the high standards customarily exemplified by the Belknap Press. Rare is the critic of the physical and nearly all editorial achievements who would have an easy time reporting more than the tiniest flaws.

Although Adams lived for a time in the White House and was the son and grandson of Presidents, his comments generally contain less of value for political than cultural historians. Of all the conclusions that might be emphasized, the most vital concerns the diarist's nature. At times gloomy and in several periods subject to rather prolonged depression, Adams nevertheless emerges from his jottings and musings as a better balanced and more versatile person than he himself was inclined to admit. Indeed, he could be warm. In making this point, it is essential that it not be overstated. While the two volumes of the *Diary* do not drastically alter long-accepted characterizations, they subtly project a *somewhat* sunnier and more companionable Charles Francis Adams.

University of Kentucky

HOLMAN HAMILTON

FRONTIER COMMUNITY: KANSAS CITY TO 1870. By *A. Theodore Brown*. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 235. \$5.95.)

THIS history of early Kansas City is considerably broader than its title suggests. The first part of a two-volume study, *Frontier Community* is really regional as well as urban history. Placed on the rim of what first settlers thought to be the "Great American Desert," Kansas City owed much of its early growth to the development of the whole Missouri Valley and the opening up of the western territories. On this large canvas, Professor Brown sketches the first decades of a young city. He is always careful to establish the reciprocal connections between the countryside and the town, between Kansas City's local importance and its regional significance. It is this scope that raises this volume well above even the best local history.

In addition, the author emphasizes that there was no inevitability in Kansas City's ultimate primacy in the area. The town's boosters could say that geography had fixed the "grand proportions of Kansas City" and that the "great tracings of the Almighty's finger" had "fixed upon the rock-bound bay of the Missouri and the Kansas as the last great seat of wealth," but Brown is less sure. Rather he treats its ultimate success as a mixture of "determinism, enterprise and chance."

Leavenworth, St. Joseph, Independence, and even Westport (now a part of Kansas City) all had claims that matched the final victor's.

Indeed, it seemed that events sometimes conspired against Kansas City. The controversy over slavery led to serious division in local opinion, and when the war came the town became a Federal compound in Confederate territory living from day to day in a stage of semisiege. The population declined, trade withered, and prospects flagged. In 1864 the city was placed directly under the gun. Yet it somehow contrived to stay alive. "We have held on as a community," one resident noted with relief when it was all over.

Brown finds the coming of the railroad the key to Kansas City's triumph over its neighboring rivals. In 1869, when the bridge was thrown over the river, the town's success was assured; the volume ends a year later. The federal census showed the city with 32,268 (though the author demonstrates that this figure is at least 8,000 too high); the stockyards, soon to be the town's trade-mark, had been established; and the inhabitants had begun to enjoy the wide range of urban services characteristic of larger and older places.

The story is told with skill and lucidity. The author not only has used all the available municipal resources, but he also employs the concepts and techniques of other social science disciplines with judiciousness and restraint. With the appearance of the next volume, Kansas City will join the select list of American cities that enjoy a modern and authoritative history.

University of Chicago

RICHARD C. WADE

THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY: ABOLITIONISTS AND THE NEGRO IN THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION. By *James M. McPherson*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 474. \$10.00.)

THE question of what actually happened to the abolitionists, as individuals and as organized bodies, when the Civil War came has never been fully answered. We have known in a general and somewhat vague way what happened to them. We have known, for example, that they agitated for emancipation and for the arming of the slaves. We have known that some of them, notably William Lloyd Garrison, argued that their work was ended when the war ended. This volume, however, is the first full account of the activities of the abolitionists during the Civil War and Reconstruction. As such, it is a very important work. McPherson has traced with great care the work of the abolitionists as individuals and as organizations, as political partisans and as political neutrals, and as advocates of a new social and economic order. They were as vigorous in war and peace as they had been during the crusade against slavery.

Neither the coming of the war nor the emancipation of the slaves answered all the questions in the minds of the abolitionists. They were still in a quandary as to whether to give President Lincoln, the unenthusiastic emancipator, their whole-

hearted support. They still fretted over how best to secure the freedman's complete freedom and what steps to take to protect him in his rights as a responsible and independent citizen. McPherson has made it clear that while abolitionists were not unanimous regarding the steps they should take, they were, by and large, most active in pressing for education, the franchise, civil rights, and economic support for the freedmen. Even those who subscribed to the doctrine of racial differences argued that Negroes were entitled to equal treatment. And they plotted, planned, and organized to bring about complete equality under the law.

McPherson does not tell us very much about the role of the abolitionists in the drive to secure the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment. Perhaps this is because the recent book by LaWanda and John Cox, *Politics, Principle, and Prejudice*, has provided many of the details. One has the feeling, moreover, that more could have been said about the activities of the abolitionists during the late Reconstruction years, especially after Grant became President. Perhaps this belongs to a sequel that could treat the final disappearance of the crusading tradition that was a casualty of the overthrow of Reconstruction and the emergence of more materialistic considerations in American society.

While they lasted, the abolitionists were a robust, resourceful, and dedicated reform group, as interested in reconstruction as they had been in abolition and as dedicated to equal rights in the North as they were in the South. McPherson has told the entire story in rich detail, with excellent scholarship, and in a manner that has both integrity and felicity.

University of Chicago

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

GRANT, LEE, LINCOLN AND THE RADICALS: ESSAYS ON CIVIL WAR LEADERSHIP. By *Bruce Catton et al.* Edited by *Grady McWhiney*. ([Evanston, Ill.:] Northwestern University Press. 1964. Pp. vi, 117. \$3.95.)

THIS little book presents the four papers read at a Northwestern University symposium on Civil War leadership. First there are essays on the generalship of Grant, by Bruce Catton, and the generalship of Lee, by Charles P. Roland. Then David Donald and T. Harry Williams renew a familiar debate on Lincoln's relations with the Radical Republicans. Except for Roland, the authors have already written extensively on their subjects. Yet Catton, by subordinating narrative to analysis, makes perhaps his most direct assault upon the problem of measuring Grant's achievements, while Donald and Williams have extended and revised their earlier arguments in ways that command interest. The result, therefore, is something better than a rehash of previous scholarship.

The two military essays are similar in a number of respects. Both begin with over-all views of the war and its grand strategy. Catton believes that Grant was uncommonly quick to understand the nature of the conflict, and Roland says the same thing about Lee. Both authors follow their respective generals chronologically through the war, examining and passing judgment upon the major plans,

decisions, and actions. Both write admiringly but not uncritically, and both stress the external factors that constantly influenced and limited the exercise of command. Grant's Virginia campaign, for example, did not proceed according to plan partly because he was saddled with some inept subordinates. On the other hand, Lee's capacity as an over-all strategist was never tested because Jefferson Davis himself clung to that role until the bitter end. These two essays do not constitute a debate. Neither author attempts to measure his general against the other, and wisely so; for the differences in their resources and tasks were probably too great to permit meaningful comparison.

Donald's essay is a resumption of his attack, first launched in *Lincoln Reconsidered* (1956), upon the thesis of Williams' *Lincoln and the Radicals* (1941). Donald concedes that there is some truth in "the picture of Lincoln battling the Radicals," but he still regards it as a "cliché" that obscures the complexity of Civil War politics. Not only the Radicals but most Republicans, he maintains, "were dissatisfied with Lincoln's administration." The Republican party, moreover, displayed an extraordinary amount of unity. Factionalism did exist, but it had many roots, including old Whig and Democratic loyalties. Williams, in turn, has retreated to a more tenable position. He now acknowledges that the "congruity of the Radicals" and the "sharpness of their differences" with Lincoln and the conservative Republicans have been exaggerated. Yet he insists that the Radicals were men of "revolutionary temperament" who constituted the "core of opposition" to Lincoln and that the conflict within the Republican party was real, significant, and abnormal. A certain amount of agreement now underlies the argument between these two scholars, but sharp differences in emphasis leave them still far apart.

Stanford University

DON E. FEHRENBACHER

HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD AND THE EMPIRE OF REFORM. By
Chester McArthur Destler. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
 1963. Pp. 15-657. \$12.00.)

FROM more than two decades of devoted research, Chester McArthur Destler has prepared a careful chronicle of Henry Demarest Lloyd's public life. Carrying Lloyd quickly through his early years, Destler begins his detailed account in 1869 when the young crusader joined the American Free-Trade League. He follows Lloyd month by month through the disappointments of the Liberal Republican campaign; literary and financial editorships on the *Chicago Tribune*; his happy, enduring marriage to Mary Bross, whose wealthy father was the newspaper's publisher; his break with the *Tribune* and complete dedication to antimonopoly activities; the hostility toward Standard Oil, which produced *Wealth against Commonwealth*; his simultaneous participation in Populist politics and a host of smaller reforms; and finally his enthrallment with the cooperative movement. For over twenty years the Lloyds welcomed an extraordinary number and variety of friends, outcasts, and seekers into their gracious Winnetka home.

Destler has told us what Lloyd did, not who he was or how his mind worked. Because of this ardent man's legendary charm, it is a shame the sources reveal so little about his personality. Lloyd did, however, leave a rich intellectual record, and Destler's handling of that material constitutes the primary failure of his study, especially since its main theme celebrates Lloyd as a major theorist who in comprehending his own society founded a realistic democratic philosophy for the twentieth century. Destler's presentation relies heavily upon two techniques: analysis by lists and genius by priority. The heart of Lloyd's mature philosophy, the author informs us, lay in "the Christo-democratic faith, Emersonian transcendentalism, Positivist humanism and altruism, the Kantian categorical imperative, empiricism's insistence upon implementing ideals, a profound knowledge of the economic mechanism of the era, and romanticism's evaluation of humanity." Such vague and unintegrated series, the essence of Destler's explanation, create a confusion his favorite term "eclecticism" can never surmount. The second device is a kind of numbers game that Destler plays throughout the book. Lloyd, he reports, privately denied absolute truth more than a decade before William James, mentioned equality on the frontier five years before Turner's famous address, slightly anticipated Kipling's racism, and so forth across a sweeping range of ideas. The results are a model of misdirected thoroughness.

Contrary to his intention, Destler describes a spirited Victorian gentleman, shocked by the crassness of industrial America, who focused his hatred upon large corporations and placed his faith in man's inherent goodness. Sharing the widespread belief in a pending social crisis after the mid-eighties, he envisioned a new Christian brotherhood emerging triumphant from the cataclysm. When it did not emerge during the mid-nineties, he lost much of his direction but none of his hope, dying a few years after his dream had largely passed from vogue. A kindly, vibrant person, a brilliant phrasemaker, and an astute analyst of particulars who thrilled many in his time, he deserves sympathetic attention no less because his utopia belonged specifically to that generation and not to any that followed.

Northwestern University

ROBERT WIEBE

WILSON: CONFUSIONS AND CRISES, 1915-1916. By *Arthur S. Link*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 386. \$8.50.)

THIS fourth volume in Professor Link's monumental, definitive, and heavily documented biography of Woodrow Wilson covers the brief period between the autumn of 1915 and the spring of 1916. The research is meticulous and thorough from the abundant and available American and German resources; pertinent French and British archives are still closed to scholars, but Link has used the Asquith Papers to advantage, and was given access to an "important," intriguing, and unidentified French diplomatic archive for the period—with the understanding that he should neither quote directly from the documents nor cite them.

The volume opens with two interesting chapters on Wilson's second marriage

and the controversy over preparedness, and closes with a catchall chapter on domestic concerns. In between, most of the narrative deals with the submarine (crises over the *Lusitania*, *Sussex*, and arming of merchantmen), the House-Grey memorandum, and the Pershing expedition into Mexico. There were much tumult and shouting over these issues, more than a trace of brinkmanship, and little in the way of accomplishment.

The President's courtship of Mrs. Galt is both fascinating and embarrassing, as such private matters usually are when exposed to public scrutiny. Here is the aging Wilson writing daily letters to Mrs. Galt, some of them twenty pages in length, with the ardor of a young man in love for the first time. The caustic Henry Cabot Lodge would call it a "vulgar marriage" and claimed that public business suffered while the dalliance was in progress. There is a full description of the interminable diplomatic shadowboxing over the submarine, as well as the insoluble issue as to whether cannon on armed merchantmen were to be fired for offense or defense. As far as Mexico was concerned, Wilson stood idealistically and resolutely for the right of a people to "do what they damn please with their own affairs"—a striking contrast to his previous Caribbean policy of teaching the South American republics to elect good men, if necessary (as Walter Hines Page put it) by shooting them into self-government.

The portrayal of Colonel House is that of a diplomat who was evasive and deluded, a trusted adviser who "not only misinformed and misled President Wilson, but also encouraged him to base fundamental foreign policy on the assumption that American mediation was possible in the immediate future." Admiral Grayson, the President's personal physician, later observed in clinical terms that some men who came to Washington grew—that others swelled—and that House magnified his role beyond all reason. Link appears to be approaching this point of view; it will be interesting to see his treatment of House in subsequent volumes.

Because of the limited period covered, quotations that are sometimes a bit lengthy, and the inexorable goal of definitive history, the content is exhaustive, the literary pace is slow and relentless, and the journey for the reader is occasionally wearing. This is history in the manner of Gooch rather than Trevelyan or Bailey. Link does not always sustain or command the attention of the reader, but his work is a tour de force invaluable for reference and consultation.

Western Reserve University

C. H. CRAMER

JOHN DEWEY AND ARTHUR F. BENTLEY: A PHILOSOPHICAL CORRESPONDENCE, 1932-1951. Selected and edited by *Sidney Ratner* and *Jules Altman*. *James E. Wheeler*, Associate Editor. Introduction by *Sidney Ratner*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1964. Pp. vii, 737. \$12.50.)

THE editors of this book have provided us with the most important correspondence between John Dewey and Arthur Bentley. These philosophers began a con-

tinuous correspondence in 1935 when Dewey was seventy-six and Bentley was sixty-four. The correspondence lasted until Dewey's death and resulted in the collaboration of Dewey and Bentley in a number of philosophical articles which were published in book form as *Knowing and the Known* in 1949.

When this correspondence began, Dewey was the most important American philosopher and Bentley was almost unknown except in certain philosophical and social science circles. After receiving a Ph.D. in economics at Johns Hopkins in the 1890's, Bentley had taught briefly at the University of Chicago and then dropped out of academic life. He worked as a reporter and then became a farmer. He was a steady publisher, however, in the area of the theory and philosophy of the social sciences. In 1908 he published *The Process of Government*, which was an attempt to take political science out of the realm of abstract theory and make it a description of political life as it actually exists. By 1930 he was writing on logical problems; again he was attempting to place logic within the everyday activities of men. He opposed traditional logic because he believed it dealt with timeless categories that had no relationship to the evolving and timeful environment in which men exist.

Bentley had sat in on Dewey's courses at Chicago and believed that his own work in political theory and logic was inspired by Dewey's emphasis on the necessary revolution of all philosophical thinking after Darwin had proved the evolutionary nature of the universe. Bentley, like Dewey, saw the individual as part of a social group that was always in the process of development. In the 1930's, however, Bentley came to the conclusion that Dewey had failed to establish his philosophical position because Dewey's use of language was so imprecise. Bentley was sure that if an absolutely objective language, with clearly defined words, was applied to Dewey's insight that logic was a tool by which man adapted to a constantly evolving environment, then the young philosophers of the 1930's could be persuaded of the validity of Dewey's outlook. As revealed in this correspondence, Dewey was himself frustrated in the late 1930's about widespread misinterpretations of his basic positions, and he eagerly accepted Bentley as a friend and colleague who would give to Dewey's ideas the objective expression that could overcome the manifold criticisms of his work that characterized the last decades of Dewey's life. It is fascinating to watch the celebrated philosopher reach out for help from the unknown Bentley.

This is a most valuable contribution to our understanding of Dewey and Bentley and the entire tradition of organic evolution in American philosophy.

University of Minnesota

DAVID NOBLE

THE PURSUIT OF SOUTHERN HISTORY: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES OF THE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1935-

1963. Edited by George Brown Tindall. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Pp. xxi, 541. \$8.50.)

THE presidential address is both a valuable and a respected institution. For those presidents who are so-minded, it serves as a pulpit from which they may exhort or scold the profession; for those of a less evangelical bent, it provides an occasion for reflection upon many rewarding years of close involvement with Clio; for some it furnishes a vehicle for advancing new insights and conclusions that have arisen out of their own research. These several uses and more are illustrated in this collection of addresses of the twenty-nine presidents of the Southern Historical Association, which is published in commemoration of the association's thirty years of fruitful and expanding support of the study of southern history.

But to bring together in one volume these very diverse essays, which were written over a span of a generation, demands a major effort of justification. For one thing, all of the essays have already been published in the *Journal of Southern History*. Moreover, being presented in the order in which they were delivered, the essays have no order save that of chronology. Indeed, as editor George Brown Tindall writes in his penetrating introduction, "Taken seriatim, the heterogeneous essays . . . may seem a stubbornly unrelated miscellany, held together only by the incidental fact that they have been part of the same perennial rite. They defy classification and some of them totally escape it." To be sure, being a good editor, he manfully provides three categories into which the essays might be grouped, but these are taxonomic rather than unifying.

The truth is that this volume is not a book if coherence is the measure. It contains all the disjointedness of a *Festschrift* without the compensating motive of devotion to a beloved teacher and the merit of bringing new research into print. Four of these essays have been printed not only once, but twice, before.

There is no doubt that the presidents of the Southern Historical Association have been among the most accomplished practitioners of their craft in the nation. But their presidential addresses are neither always nor necessarily their best or most important productions. Some, to be sure, like Simkins' "Tolerating the South's Past," Woodward's "The Irony of Southern History," Fletcher Green's "Democracy in the Old South," and C. S. Sydnor's "Southerners and the Laws," are landmarks in the writing of the history of the South. Most are not. Some, like Craven's "Price of Union" and Robert Henry's "West by South," are just not up to the usual standards of their distinguished authors. Still others are outdated, such as Ramsdell's "Changing Interpretations of the Civil War," because of the new writing since 1937; A. B. Moore's "One Hundred Years of Reconstruction of the South" and B. B. Kendrick's "Colonial Status of the South," because of new social and economic perspectives; and Philip Hamer's "Records of Southern History," because of changed circumstances.

Would not the association have done the study of southern history a greater service by bringing together the most exciting and contemporarily relevant articles

from its valuable journal, regardless of whether the authors were presidents or not? Was it not taking the easy way out simply to have reprinted the presidential addresses?

Vassar College

CARL N. DEGLER

REMINISCENCES. By Douglas MacArthur. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1964. Pp. viii, 438. \$6.95.)

Most memoirs are written too soon after the events they describe to be impartial and too early for pertinent records to be available for the settlement of controversial issues. They are marred by the narrowness of the author's view and by his lack of knowledge of all the facts that influenced decisions and actions other than his own. Even when a period of thirteen to twenty-five years has passed since the incidents described, as in the case of General MacArthur's *Reminiscences*, the account can still be seriously affected by the same defects if the author relies only or even mainly on his own records and recollections.

Elderly and ailing, MacArthur apparently decided in the closing months of his life to bring together brief recollections of his early career with a lengthier summary of his later activities. For the period 1941-1951 he seems to have relied on notes and comments he had prepared earlier for members of his staff, his wartime reports, a history prepared by his headquarters, and the essence of his conversations as set down by friends and associates in their accounts of their service with him. Clearly he drew heavily on General Courtney Whitney's *MacArthur, His Rendezvous with History*, a strongly polemical account of the 1941-1951 period when the author's sense of outrage over the removal of his chief was at its peak. MacArthur's volume, while fairer in tone and more judicious in approach than Whitney's, suffers from the same lack of perspective and incompleteness of documentation.

Until more information is furnished on the nature of the sources of the *Reminiscences*, students will wonder, as does Professor Louis Morton, whether there was an early journal by MacArthur on which Frazier Hunt, Whitney, General Charles A. Willoughby, and MacArthur all drew for inspiration. This point occurs particularly to one who compares pertinent chapters of Whitney's book with MacArthur's recollections.

There can be no complaint against any author's copying from himself. Every great speech or state paper owes something in phrasing to earlier efforts by the same man. If one draws on an earlier letter or report or speech for a book, it is not surprising if one resorts to some repetition. But it is disturbing to find separate volumes by a chief and his aide containing numerous phrases, sentences, and even paragraphs where the principal difference is noted by the substitution of "I" for "he." More common are the paragraphs that are slightly rearranged and the construction tightened, but where the giveaway wording persists. The publisher apparently attempted to settle the issue by distributing photostats of the initial

draft in MacArthur's handwriting. Citations of the original sources or a more detailed bibliographical note on the degree to which various books on MacArthur drew on his papers, notes, and conversations would have simplified the problem for readers.

If, as seems likely, much of the material used in the earlier volumes was furnished by MacArthur, one can only say that for the 1941-1951 period he has been badly scooped by his associates. Most of the important letters and documents and even many of the complimentary letters and congratulatory telegrams that critics have chided MacArthur for including appeared earlier in Whitney's book. The Pacific commander has softened the harsh impeachments laid by his aides and associates against American and British contemporaries, but he has retained the suspicion that any policy contrary to his own was dictated less by honest differences of opinion than by jealousy or sinister conspiracy.

MacArthur sketches proudly the long career of a great soldier and military governor. Following in the footsteps of an able father, he set a splendid record as a West Point cadet and won high praise for his brilliant work as staff and field officer in World War I. To these early laurels he added many more during his five-year term as Army Chief of Staff, as Allied commander in chief in the Pacific, as supreme commander in Japan, and as United Nations commander in Korea. All of these accomplishments are outlined in an account that gives the reader from time to time a glimpse of the burning ambition of one determined to give his name to an epoch. Unfortunately, the book does him less than justice.

Arlington, Virginia

FORREST C. POGUE

THE JOURNALS OF DAVID E. LILIENTHAL. Volume I, THE TVA YEARS, 1939-1945, INCLUDING A SELECTION OF JOURNAL ENTRIES FROM THE 1917-1939 PERIOD; Volume II, THE ATOMIC ENERGY YEARS, 1945-1950. Introduction by *Henry Steele Commager*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1964. Pp. xxxi, 734; x, 666. \$10.00 each.)

DAVID E. Lilienthal had an extraordinary career in government. He was an original member of the board of directors of both the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Atomic Energy Commission. As a result, he acquired a deep experience concerning the many obstacles that confronted newly created agencies of government, pioneering in scientific and social change. And fortunately for the scholars of American government and politics, Lilienthal recorded what he encountered, and his analysis of the meaning of the experiences, as he was undergoing them. With perception, he discusses the struggles with competing bureaucracies of the federal government. His effective blocking of Harold Ickes, Thomas Corcoran, and Ben Cohen, when they attempted, in 1939, to place the decentralized administration of the TVA in the Department of Interior, was masterful.

The *Journals* demonstrate as well how essential an imaginative, alert, and vigorous leader is in keeping a governmental organization functioning with verve.

As he notes on November 12, 1939: "I am all excited these days, excited about TVA and the way it is working out, and by the fascinating place in it I have, the function of keeping it on its toes, eager and on the *qui vive* . . . too much peace in a huge organization becomes lethargy, following the quiet paths toward bureaucracy."

There is also important material in the *Journals* on the skill required to build support in Congress for enterprises like the TVA and the AEC. The TVA, working with the people of the Tennessee River Valley to remake the face of and to stimulate the aspirations of the people of a vast region, had powerful foes. Lilienthal's battles with them and, at times, his sense of near despair are developed in detail. The refusal of the TVA to make political appointments infuriated Senator McKellar. When Lilienthal was appointed chairman of the AEC, McKellar tried to block his confirmation. On February 4, 1947, Lilienthal records: "McKellar moved me deeply today, and was responsible for my getting off, quite spontaneously, a statement of my democratic faith, an attack on witch hunting, and an exposition of what democratic liberties mean. . . ." His exposition "This I Deeply Believe" is included in the appendix.

The *Journals* demonstrate the necessity for leaders of new departures like the TVA and AEC to explain their purposes to the public. This was essential to prevent being hazed by Congress, to attract able men to the agencies, and in the case of the AEC, Lilienthal writes: ". . . I wanted to increase the measure of public confidence in the Commission and me; I wanted to fight the hysteria about secrecy and 'loyalty.'" The *Journals* reflect, as well, how vital it was to have vigorous presidential support for both the TVA and the AEC.

The two volumes are replete with fascinating and valuable vignettes of such figures as Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Wendell Willkie, Harold Ickes, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Lewis Strauss, George Norris, Bernard Baruch, Dean Acheson, and a host of others. Although Lilienthal started keeping a journal when he was in college, it was not until 1939 that he kept it as a sustained narrative. He explains that he has let the record stand as it was written: "I have made alterations only where the text would otherwise be quite unclear or unduly repetitious, and I have cut some references to individuals, where no public issue was involved, which might be in questionable taste to retain." Lilienthal has placed us all in his debt not only for his exceptional service as a public servant but for the rich store of source material in the *Journals* on so many major events of the years 1933-1950.

University of Chicago

WALTER JOHNSON

MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY. By *James W. Silver*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1964. Pp. xxii, 250. \$4.75.)

My knowledge of Mississippi is run of the American mill. Only inadvertently have I ever set foot in the state. Such knowledge as I have comes from the newspapers,

the news pictures and television, the pronouncements of Governors Barnett and Johnson, the contrary reports of certain visitors, and the reading of Faulkner, the histories, and the statistics.

For such a person James W. Silver's *Mississippi: The Closed Society* is tremendously informative. It centers on James Meredith's invasion of the University of Mississippi and the desperate measures taken to protect that symbol of the magnolia blossom South. Its topic, thus, is an episode in the current struggle over the peculiar institution of caste. The episode, though not the most horrendous of recent record, came to the brink of complete disaster. The issues involved concern our entire society, indeed, all mankind.

Silver has cast his narrative in the form of a personal account. He makes no pretense of being a disinterested historian who happened to be near the eye of this hurricane. He was there, but as an activist. He volunteered advice to the administration and to colleagues; he counseled Meredith and the White House. He took up the cudgels in letters to assorted editors, alumni, and businessmen. He spoke his mind, too, most notably in his presidential address to the Southern Historical Association, which received widespread editorial attention in the home papers.

At the same time, Silver confesses to being a confirmed Mississippian. He identifies with the university, the state, and its people. Simple prudence might suggest that he move away, but it is understandable that he says he has no wish to do so. The options, as further refined, would normally be to depart and speak his mind or to stay and hold his peace. He has chosen the more gallant course of staying and speaking his mind.

As a history of the Meredith invasion and the mustering to repel the boarder, his book is deeply revealing. On some matters it contains less than most readers will wish. Meredith, for instance, remains to the reader a rather remote figure.

Silver's main purpose, however, was not to write an exhaustive history of the integration break-through at Ole Miss, but to bring home to fellow Mississippians that their determination to seal themselves off from the world and the present can end only in stultification. Most of them, no doubt, have had a mechanism readily at hand to close the book out.

That is not to say that Silver's brave effort is a failure. We all live in some kind of a Mississippi closed against some needed corrective. His commentary may enter our particular subconscious as a parable. If it can do that, it may also percolate back home. Furthermore, Silver's book is a most absorbing primary document.

University of California, Los Angeles

JOHN W. CAUGHEY

PERU AND THE UNITED STATES, 1900-1962. By *James C. Carey*. [International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.] ([Notre Dame, Ind.:] University of Notre Dame Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 243. \$6.50.)

RESEARCHED with scholarly thoroughness and exhibiting mature judgment and realistic insight throughout, James Carey's study is definitely not one of the many books rushed into print recently by incompetent authors trying to take advantage of newly awakened United States interest in Latin America. A past resident of Peru during a five-year period, Carey provides worth-while and reliable information on a topic long ignored in English-language works.

Peru has not played a major role in shaping the inter-American system, and Carey is justified in partially ignoring that country's participation in the hemispheric regional organization. On the other hand Peru has been a very important country to the United States investor. Ever since the 1920's, and in some instances long before that, United States investment, direct and portfolio, has constituted an important and sometimes dominant part of the Peruvian economy. Bringing to light much new material and handling his sources with skill, Carey provides a valuable résumé of the background and present status of United States private economic dealings with Peru. Other highly useful features of the book include comprehensive treatment of US government assistance programs to Peru, of the binational cultural center, and of a variety of unofficial aid projects. The book contains in addition an excellent analysis, probably the best that has appeared, of the 1958 misadventures of Richard Nixon in Lima.

Carey hopes that United States planners of assistance programs will come to adopt as a worth-while end in itself the development of a sound and stable Peruvian economy. He believes that the Alliance for Progress may contribute toward this goal by concerning itself with more than the endeavor to improve opportunities for private US investors. Unfortunately, the recent indications are that the Alliance is increasingly regarded by its directors solely as an instrument for providing a safer climate in Latin America for the operation of private US capital.

Carey observes that Peruvians may have grounds for feeling that United States policy makers have no concern for the values and culture of Peru. This is profoundly true. With reason the Peruvian and average Latin American are coming to be suspicious of the new United States gospel of the need for "revolution" in all the Southern republics. Revolution as conceived by most Yankees with their sense of superiority merely means that Latin America must undergo a change to make it more like the United States and to eradicate all vestiges of traditional values.

A possible weakness of the book is the tendency, common among this country's Latin Americanists, to regard the *Aprista* movement as universally good, its opponents as undeviatingly bad. The author does not consider the possibility that the US in coming to terms with *Apristas*, beginning in the mid-1940's, did so not as a means of encouraging a reform party but precisely because the APRA had abandoned reform aspirations and become even more willing to encourage the Yankee investor than the parties of the traditional oligarchy. If the author has misinterpreted the recent role of the APRA, and there is not enough evidence available to be certain that he has, it is a small flaw indeed in a valuable and clearly

written book. Carey's work is a solid contribution in the field of United States-Latin American relations.

University of Pennsylvania

FREDRICK B. PIKE

THE AZTECS UNDER SPANISH RULE: A HISTORY OF THE INDIANS OF THE VALLEY OF MEXICO, 1519-1810. By *Charles Gibson*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 657. \$12.50.)

CHARLES Gibson has written a model treatment whose value goes beyond Mexican colonial history. It is a case study in cultural clash and differential adjustments and a pioneering work in Aztec ethnohistory.

Its merit immediately places it among a select group of significant books on Latin American colonial topics: Haring's *Trade and Navigation* (1918), Zavala's *Encomienda Indiana* (1935), Kubler's *Mexican Architecture* (1948), and Chevalier's *Formation des Grands Domaines aux Mexique* (1952). While equally masterful, Gibson's study differs from these major works in one main respect. They summarized a vast amount of new data for a relatively large area and extended period, providing a broad framework within which subsequent monographic studies could fit. By contrast, Gibson's work is a study in depth, with restricted areal scope.

He stays within about a one-hundred-mile radius of Mexico City, a critically important area with perhaps ten thousand years of continuous occupancy. Its prehistory and archaeological record are complex: its recorded history, dating from about a century before European contact, is one of the most intricate of Spanish American regions. The Valley was the heart of the Aztec Empire, itself the successor to earlier cultures and organizations; it became and remained the crucial focus of power for the conquering Spanish and their Mexican heirs after independence in 1821.

Gibson treats the transformation of the Aztecs from a dominant imperial society in 1519 to a subordinate, generally servile stratum in the Mexico of 1810 when the major movements for Mexican independence began. Thus his breadth is found in range of topics. Each chapter becomes a monograph once the initial areal and general background is covered. Systematically he examines matters like *encomienda* and *corregimiento*, religion, people (demography and social structures), political towns, tributes and municipal finance, labor, land, agriculture, and the role of the metropolis, Mexico City. In each, the successive, often dramatic changes in native modes as colonial Europeans imposed their ways on a functioning and relatively sophisticated Indian society emerge from his analyses of a staggering mass of material that he has carefully examined over the past fifteen years.

Gibson provides a final chapter of his conclusions, a synthesis of earlier inductions. The nonspecialist can profit from reading them. For fellow specialists he has added six important appendixes, preserving detailed information on topics that are puzzling and of continuing interest: *encomiendas*, *cabeceras* and *sujetos*

(main towns and their dependencies), political jurisdictions, epidemics, agricultural conditions, local population figures. Yet all this description of the scholarly appendages should not mask the central fact that Gibson's work is a very readable book, written with care and clarity.

His sources are primarily manuscript, from Mexican, Spanish, French, and a few US repositories. In addition he has exploited the relevant printed materials, not only the usual documents, books, and articles, but also the unique corpus of native pictorial records ("codices") that often give the obverse of European views. That Gibson required 163 closely printed pages of notes to support the text and another 27 pages for a select bibliography provides more than a hint as to the solid scholarly base on which his treatment rests.

To control this mountain of data he employs a relatively standard approach in each of the topical chapters. First is a sketch of what the native situation was at time of contact; this is followed by a chronological description and analysis of changes to 1810. Often the section on the first half of the sixteenth century is the longest and most exciting portion, with interest and information thinning out after about 1610. There are notable and important exceptions to the pattern; one major contribution, among many, is the documentation of the enormous and ramifying influence of the seventeenth-century project to drain the Valley of Mexico, the Desagüe. It placed nearly intolerable strains on native communities expected to provide labor and money, setting in motion within them vast social and economic changes.

It should be clear that this volume pioneers and gives the first detailed view, over an extended period of time, of many topics of central concern to modern historiography. Its organization and impeccable techniques make it a model, which hopefully others will follow and adapt to different locales. Gibson is quite aware that his findings are limited by the unique position of the Valley, with the great metropolitan center of Mexico City at its core, exerting direct and overwhelming force on its rings of satellite native communities. Comparable studies showing the changes and their rhythms would be desirable for provincial areas dominated by secondary centers like Guadalajara, Oaxaca, or Mérida in colonial Mexico, or Lima in South America. Gibson's work opens the path to them.

Fortunately the Stanford University Press allowed Gibson all the space he needed to tell his complicated tale. Numerous and excellent maps, photos, glossary, and index enhance this major contribution to Latin American historiography.

Library of Congress

HOWARD F. CLINE

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IN LATIN AMERICA: A HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT 1917-1963. By *Rollie E. Poppino*. [Studies in Contemporary Latin America.] ([New York:] Free Press of Glencoe. 1964. Pp. viii, 247. \$5.95.)

This is a very good book on an important subject. Very little serious writing has

been done in this country on the subject of Latin American Communism, and most of what has appeared has centered either on the Guatemalan experience of the 1950's or the Cuban problems of more recent vintage. Much of the material written on Cuba has been so biased either for or against Castro as to be of little value for a serious understanding of the advent of Communist rule there.

Rollie Poppino has written a very good over-all view of the history and activities of the Communist movement in the hemisphere. After a few chapters of background, the book has a long chapter that gives a capsulelike history of the parties in the various countries. It is followed by several chapters describing various aspects of how the Communist parties function. Finally, there are sections on the relations of the Latin American Communists with the Castro revolution and with the Chinese and Soviet camps.

Of special interest is the chapter on the organizational structure of the Latin American Communist parties. This gives an accurate picture of the highly centralized apparatus that characterizes the party in all of the Latin American countries, and the way in which orders and directives are passed down from the top of this structure.

Of significance, too, is the chapter on the relations of the Latin American Communists with the Castro regime and the Sino-Soviet conflict. Poppino is correct in emphasizing the quandary in which Castro is placed by the Sino-Soviet struggle. He notes the efforts of the Chinese to picture the Castro regime as a typical example of the kind of revolution they are advocating, and Castro's efforts to bring about similar uprisings elsewhere in Latin America. Yet, he also points out the difficulty Castro has in openly assuming the leadership of the Chinese-oriented Communists in the hemisphere, because of his need for Russian assistance. Perhaps Poppino might have given somewhat more attention to parties and groups that have arisen outside of the orthodox Communist parties, which are attracted to the Chinese Communists.

The author has an instructive chapter on the tactics and strategy of the Latin American Communists. He underscores the fact that these have varied with shifts in the line of the international Communist movement and also notes the greater versatility of maneuver that the Communists have had in recent years.

I have only minor criticisms of this volume. For one thing, Poppino tends to overestimate Communist influence in the labor movement. One might also question some of the minor details in the history of the individual national parties.

The final chapter sums up the future prospects of the Communists in the area. The author stresses the fact that their fortunes will depend more on external circumstances than upon their own activities. He presents an interesting analysis of circumstances in which the Communists will have little chance of achieving power, but to list them here would be giving away more than is my right. To understand the likelihood of the appearance of new Communist regimes in the hemisphere, and many other important matters concerning the Marxists-Leninists in the New World, one should read Poppino's book.

Rutgers University

ROBERT J. ALEXANDER

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

BOOKS

General

SHAPES OF PHILOSOPHICAL HISTORY. By *Frank E. Manuel*. [The Harry Camp Lectures at Stanford University, 1964.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1965. Pp. 166. \$4.75.) This, the printed version of a set of learned, literate, and lively lectures, is the prolific Professor Manuel's best book yet. With sensitive and subtle scholarship, lightly worn, he banishes scissors and paste from the study of intellectual history and offers a model treatment of historical philosophies. It would be difficult to guess from these exquisitely wrought pages that the material with which they deal is often obscure and intractable. The title is chosen advisedly: Manuel proposes the cyclical and the progressive views of history as "two archetypal shapes of philosophical history" whose ever-changing manifestations, from ancient times to the present day, converge and diverge in "a rich fabric of historical metamorphoses." He is no crude influencemonger; relationships are suggested but not obtruded. Shafts of illumination from unaccustomed angles are thrown, by dint of work in the original sources, on figures familiar and less familiar. But here is not novelty for novelty's sake either; the author's mind seems to move naturally outside the traditional grooves and carries the reader easily with him. There are so many good things in the book that it is almost invidious to single out a few. There is the connection between Lessing and Joachim of Fiore (touched on, to be sure, so briefly as to be little more than tantalizing); there is the consideration of the backward-looking aspect of the "Janus-faced" Vico as a "decadent Renaissance humanist"; there is the long-overdue partial rehabilitation of Spengler, and an acute analysis of the love-hate relationship between him and Toynbee. Other matters are more questionable: whether after the late T. E. Mommsen it is still legitimate to refer to Orosius *tout court* as St. Augustine's "loyal disciple"; whether doubt can properly be cast on Victor Cousin's transmission of German thought to France without offering any evidence because it suits Manuel to sharpen the contrast between the German and the French traditions in philosophy of history, with Marx as a "syncretic figure." By accepting Marx's estimate that previous philosophers had made no attempt to change the world, and by following the traditional interpretation of Hegel's Owl of Minerva, Manuel makes a contemplative of Hegel. In my submission, this is wrong. But in almost all details, as well as in general conception and execution, this is a delightful and richly rewarding book.

University of Keele

W. M. SIMON

CHRISTIANITY AND HISTORY: ESSAYS. By *E. Harris Harbison*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 292. \$6.50.) "Jinks" Harbison, as the late Professor Harbison was affectionately called by colleagues and perchance students, wrote a number of occasional pieces that are brought together here. They have more unity than most such collections, dealing with aspects of the Renaissance and Reformation *sub specie aeternitatis*, with an eye to problems of perennial import such as the philosophy of history and the relation of Christianity to culture, education, and the so-called secular disciplines. The answers given now to one problem, now to another, are never simple—there is a penchant for paradox—and never assumed to be definitive.

Here is a probing mind at work, breaking down popular terms and concepts into components and exploring their several implications. The figures chiefly prominent in these analyses are Machiavelli, More, Erasmus, Luther, and Calvin with lesser notice for such persons as Pico, Melancthon, and Bucer. The first essays center on the philosophy of history. One theory running from Augustine through Luther sees history moving in a straight line punctuated by unique occurrences which add cumulatively to the past and move forward to a goal appointed by God and not to be evaded by man. Actual history, however, in part discloses and in part conceals God's purpose. Hence the Christian interpretation of history is less a matter of demonstration than of faith. Yet if the venture of faith be made, historical occurrences are invested with a meaning that is objectively valid even though hidden save to the eye of faith. Another theory of history is the cyclical, to be found in Machiavelli, but still not deterministic, because the student of history can discover the laws of the cycles and then by wisdom and *virtù* can break their course. Thus his scheme allows for progress. Calvin added to the views of Augustine and Luther a profound hopefulness for the realization of some semblance of God's kingdom on earth. Harbison saw in Toynbee a threading between the Augustinian and the Machiavellian views with a growing inclination to the former. Another problem is whether education can be Christian and whether a Christian can be a historian. The answer is that a Christian scholar cannot use any methodology different from that of his non-Christian colleagues, but his faith will yield insights. Therefore the Christian can be a historian, and education can be Christian. The discussion of the social views of Machiavelli and More is discriminating and penetrating. The former was more than a brutal realist, and the latter less than an unrealistic idealist. But there was a difference in emphasis. Machiavelli's point of departure was the struggle for power, whereas More's compositions always had the ring of righteousness. One of the charms of the book is that a contemporary reference, though not obtruded, is never absent from the author's mind.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BANTON

A CURRENT APPRAISAL OF THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES. By Rollo Handy and Paul Kurtz. [Behavioral Research Bulletin.] (Great Barrington, Mass.: the Council. 1964. Pp. 154. \$7.50.) This volume's "appraisal" is based upon a set of criteria derived from the "transactional approach" of John Dewey and Arthur Bentley and, more particularly, the "neopositivist" outlook of Stuart C. Dodd and George Lundberg, both officers of the work's sponsoring organization, the Behavioral Research Council (as is E. C. Harwood of the American Institute of Economic Research). As a result, Handy and Kurtz are concerned with judging the behavioral sciences, which they see as broader in scope than the social sciences, according to the canon of scientific method. Ideally, this would mean in the authors' minds a problem centered, interdisciplinary inquiry using accurately, even quantitatively, defined terminology tested by experimentation and yielding generalizations. Hence the "older fields" of anthropology, sociology, history, economics, political science, jurisprudence, psychology, and education and the "newer fields" of information theory, cybernetics, linguistics, sign behavior, game and decision-making theory, "value inquiry," and general systems theory are judged and found wanting in theory or application in from four to fourteen pages each. Given their theoretical proclivities, it is odd that the authors included history at all (but odder still that they omitted geography when they included history and jurisprudence). Handy and Kurtz claim that historians have a "relatively low" understanding of the scientific method and have achieved few scientifically reputable generalizations about human behavior, although they admit that most historians neither care much about experimental design nor aim for generalization. They would prefer to see historians test hypotheses derived from the other behavioral sciences or at least

supply historical data for the creation of such hypotheses. Yet interested as they are in such work, they fail to mention in their sample survey of American history such studies as those of Cochran utilizing role theory in the study of entrepreneurial activity, of Lee Benson and the statistical analysis of Jacksonian political behavior, and of Douglass North using economic development theory in his book on American economic growth between the Revolution and the Civil War. These caveats point to the faults of the book. If its purpose is to persuade us to do research projects based upon the authors' theories, most social scientists have already chosen their theoretical framework, and most historians have a goal condemned by the authors.

University of Minnesota

ROBERT F. BERKHOFER, JR.

DARSTELLUNG DER LAGE DER ARBEITER IN ENGLAND VON 1640 BIS 1760. By Jürgen Kuczynski. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus, Volume XXII. Part 2, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in England, in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und in Frankreich.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964. Pp. 290. DM 24.50.) DIE LAGE DER ARBEITER IN DER BAUMWOLL-INDUSTRIE SHANGHAIS, INSBESONDERE IN DEN ENGLISCHEN FA-BRIKEN. By Chung-ping Yen et al. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus, Volume XXVIII. Part 2, Zur Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in England, in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und in Frankreich. Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in englischen Kolonialreich, Volume II.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964. Pp. viii, 255. DM 21.80.) This provocative analysis of English class conflict by the distinguished East German labor historian is based mainly on materials found in well-known scholarly works, to which some contemporary accounts and documents have been added. Kuczynski contends that a chain of events from John Ball's uprising to the Black Death, the expansion of sheep culture and wool exports, and the extension of the domestic system had transformed the feudal English economy and society into a capitalistic one by 1600. The early Stuarts are identified with a resurgence of the persisting feudal "remnants." The Civil Wars and the Puritan revolution marked the definitive victory of "progressive" capitalistic forces over those traditional elements, a victory consolidated by the subordination of the "feudal" court and crown during the Glorious Revolution. Kuczynski's case is well documented and skillfully presented. No Western historians, however, will agree that class cleavages were so clearly defined in Elizabethan England or that its social and economic bases were predominantly capitalistic. Professor Yen of the Chinese academy has collaborated with the East German labor historians Jonas and Kuczynski in a Marxist analysis of the impact of Western imperialism on China. The authors' main thesis is that English manufacturers exploited China, first as a market for dumped English cottons and, during the years 1840-1931, also as a growing manpower reserve for modern industrial plants, undermining native handicrafts in the process. English economic penetration gave way to that of the Japanese, notably in Shanghai and the northeastern provinces as a base for a far-flung aggression. The story of wretched working and living conditions, notably of operatives working in the British-owned Ewo Cotton Mills in Shanghai during the 1930's, is a familiar one. The authors are less than realistic in assuming that capitalism necessarily entails colonialism and in ignoring the necessarily predatory character of modern imperialism, whether the metropolis is collectivistic or capitalistic. Contemporary China must owe its political and technological rebirth largely to that imperialistic impact.

Pennsylvania State University

ALFRED G. PUNDT

PHILIPPINE JESUITS IN EXILE: THE JOURNALS OF FRANCISCO PUIG, S.J., 1768-1770. By Nicholas P. Cushner, S.J. [Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I., Volume XXIV.] (Rome: the Institutum, 1964. Pp. xvi, 202. \$4.00.) This carefully executed

volume provides a valuable account of a little-known but important incident in the religious history of the Spanish Empire. In 1768, members of the Society of Jesus stationed in the Philippines—like their more renowned confreres in Mexico and Paraguay—were expelled by royal decree from Spain's far-flung dominions. Father Puig's diary recounts the events of the arrest and exile together with the perils and vicissitudes of the dangerous journey from Manila to Italy via New Spain. Father Cushner prefaces his graceful, well-documented translation with a discussion of source materials. To evolve a reliable text he compared three copies of the Puig manuscript. Partial but complementary versions from the Huntington Library and the *Archivo de Loyola* were contrasted with a complete copy from the *Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*. Internal evidence and the comparative technique enabled him to ascertain that the Florence version was the most authentic of the available texts. The book breaks down into three distinct segments. Part I consists of a parochial and, all too frequently, turgid discussion of the prelude to the expulsion from the Philippines. The author shatters the obviously false accusations hurled at the society by secular authorities, but fails to deal adequately with the political and religious circumstances that created hostility toward the Jesuits in Manila and Madrid. Part II consists of side-by-side Spanish and English versions of Puig's journal. Part III contains four valuable appendixes plus a glossary. The real test of the volume, of course, is the text and translation. Here Cushner successfully meets the challenge. The reader is exposed to the gracious prose and precise mind of an observant eighteenth-century cleric. Interesting details on the difficult voyage to Acapulco together with shrewd notes on the popular reaction to the Jesuit expulsion in Mexico fill the pages. If the reader treats the somewhat unfortunate introduction in a cursory manner, he will discover that Cushner has provided a primary account of importance to Church historians and maritime specialists, and a document of interest to students of the Spanish Empire and of the Philippines.

Muskingum College

DAVID R. STURTEVANT

DIE GROSSE PARALLELE IM GESCHICHTSDENKEN ALEXANDER HERZEN. By *Viktor Christen*. ([Münster: the Author.] 1963. Pp. 207.) The Ph.D. thesis, so often an obvious result of tedious drudgery and no less often a premature magnum opus, in this instance has been successfully used to develop a specific and well-defined problem. The "great parallel," originally pointed out by the German political scientist Carl Schmitt, is the historical parallel most emphasized by mid-nineteenth-century political thinkers: the parallel between the turmoils of the mid-nineteenth century and those of the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages. Viktor Christen follows up the occurrence of this "great parallel" in the thought of Alexander Herzen, as well as Saint-Simon and the Saint-Simonians, Moses Hess, Donoso Cortés, and the Left-Hegelian Bruno Bauer. Herzen was singularly aware of living in a transitional period comparable in its momentous nature and impact only to the first centuries A.D. He saw the West in the role of declining Rome, the Slavs as the new Germanic tribes, socialism as the "new Christianity" which was to establish a new order and create a new man. The object of this study is hardly to test the merits of the historical constructions of Herzen and the other thinkers, but to penetrate to their general assumptions and their image of themselves. The mere fact that these thinkers use the method of historical "morphology," which was revived in our century with so much éclat by Spengler, is interesting. Herzen's more tentative approach to the morphology is confronted with a more ambitious, scientific claim by Saint-Simon. In each case, however, historical perspective serves as a double legitimation for intellectual rebellion. The new socialist doctrine is seen as analogous to Lutheranism in its time, claiming to fulfill the original function of Christianity. Furthermore, the argument runs, in the course of secularization in modern times religion has inevitably been replaced by socialism. Here Max

Weber's concepts of "disenchantment" and "secularization" are clearly foreshadowed. The theme developed in this careful, systematic study is most rewarding and suggestive far beyond its immediate confines. It should be seen—and in this respect the volume might be more explicit—as representative of the post-Hegelian world, which underneath its often excessive claims of controlling and renewing society, showed signs of a deep pessimism concerning the downward course of history.

Smith College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

THE ANARCHISTS. By *James Joll*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1964. Pp. 303. \$6.00.) This gracefully written book was intended neither as a monograph unearthing new facts about the anarchists, nor as the sort of comprehensive history of anarchist thought and action recently produced by George Woodcock (*AHR*, LXVIII [Jan. 1963], 413). What the author has undertaken, rather, is a synthesis of the most important primary and secondary materials on the anarchists in an effort to capture the flavor of their movement and to assess their place in the intellectual and social history of modern Europe. Joll's efforts, for the most part, have been eminently successful. He deals ably with the schism in the First International between the Marxists and Bakuninists, and he skillfully illuminates the contradictions in Proudhon's character that account for the bizarre variety of political stamps that have been placed upon him. Joll, moreover, rightly emphasizes that such outstanding anarchists as Godwin and Kropotkin, while bitterly opposed to the centralization of power that accompanied the Industrial Revolution, by no means rejected technological advance, which, they predicted, would relieve the manual laborer of drudgery and degradation. Joll himself would be the last to claim that, within the short compass of some three hundred pages, he had exhausted every aspect of anarchism worthy of study. Yet his attempt to cover so much ground in so brief a work—he traces the roots of anarchism to the Anabaptist sects, the Enlightenment and French Revolution, and the utopian socialists, then plunges into the modern anarchist movement wherever it was important, even treating its manifestations in the world of art and letters—has inevitably resulted in occasional skimpiness. Little space is allotted the anarchist thinkers in the United States (there is no mention of Tucker or Spooner, and Josiah Warren receives but one line); nor have the links between the doctrines of anarchism and the disparate theories of Rousseau, Hegel, and Saint-Simon been convincingly demonstrated. Joll mistakenly attributes to Bakunin the idea of "propaganda by the deed," that is, individual acts of terrorism designed to ignite the masses into a bonfire of destruction. The notion of "propaganda by the deed" was actually conceived by the Italian anarchists shortly after Bakunin's death and was later spread by Malatesta, Kropotkin, and Paul Brousse. These shortcomings, however, are far outweighed by the merits of this thoughtful and stimulating book, which eloquently evokes the tragedy of the anarchists in their vain struggle against the tides of centralized power.

Queens College

PAUL AVRICH

THE FORMING OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. By *James W. Hulse*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1964. Pp. vii, 275. \$6.50.) According to J. W. Hulse, the history of the Comintern from the First to the Second Congress marked a substantial shift in Bolshevik thinking from messianic dreams to hard-headed organization. Russian domination of the Comintern, though clear from the outset, was at first "ill-defined." But abortive revolutions in Central Europe, feuds among Left-wing groups in Germany and Great Britain, and improved communications with Europe inspired the Bolsheviks to denounce sectarian extremists and to impose more stringent controls on the international revolutionary movement. Regarding

this maneuver as an admission of their defeat, the author concludes that Lenin and the Comintern "endorsed two conflicting principles [parliamentary participation and revolution], but in practise they made them complementary." While there is nothing very new about all this, Hulse has carefully examined most of the relevant source material, including Comintern records, newspapers, and important journals in five European languages. (He missed two important dissertations, both recently published, by Werner Angress and Alfred Low.) His treatment of the bitter infighting among warring factions in France, Germany, and Great Britain is thorough and competent, if unexciting. Unfortunately, Hulse's analysis does not add much to his descriptions. Much of the difficulty lies in his failure to discuss the Comintern within the context of Soviet foreign policy and Bolshevik political thinking. Consequently, he falls into the error of drawing the lines too sharply between traditional and revolutionary modes of conducting foreign policy. He ignores, for example, the vital importance to the Bolsheviks in 1919 of splitting the socialist parties of the West, even at great cost to subsequent organizational strength, in order to weaken the united front of intervention and to relieve the depressing sense of isolation that hung over blockaded Russia. To a lesser extent, perhaps, a similar criticism may be leveled at his discussion of the national parties. Beyond enumerating the often repeated factors that hampered or hastened revolutionary activity in France and Germany, the author makes little effort to probe the social and psychological motivations of those who rallied to the Comintern in a period of heightened national feeling and at great personal risk. Thus, the need remains for a study of the unequal, often poignant struggle between those in Europe who still followed the will-o'-the-wisp of revolutionary utopia and those in Moscow who were convinced they had found it.

Northwestern University

ALFRED J. RIEBER

FROM ENMITY TO ALLIANCE: U.S.-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS, 1931-1941. By *Raymond A. Esthus*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 180. \$6.00.) When a book's topic is of no great importance to anyone or anything, is not inherently very exciting, and is known in its essentials, any author would find it difficult to make the book interesting. Mr. Esthus tried to solve these problems by dramatizing American-Australian relations between 1931 and 1941, but instead increased his difficulties by fashioning a procrustean bed: *From Enmity to Alliance*, which forces him to tell a relatively peaceful story in the terminology of conflict. Actually, the facts are presented in a straightforward, chronological manner. The depression dominated the opening of the decade, tending to focus international attention on economic policies. The restrictive practices of both nations in regard to commerce and shipping therefore affected unfavorably most of their relations. The situation was worsened by Australia's buying much more from the United States than it sold. In 1936 this led to the infamous Australian Trade Diversion Policy to reduce purchases from the "bad buyers," Japan and the United States. The policy ended quickly, but American-Australian negotiations to straighten out trade relations endured into the early war years. In the meantime, Japanese aggression caused political relations to overshadow others. But this too led to some Australian unhappiness because the initial American reaction in the form of appeasement frustrated Australian attempts to commit the United States politically and militarily in the Southwest Pacific. Official relations between the two nations continued more through London than across the Pacific until the Japanese attack became imminent and direct political and military cooperation grew in volume to mutual satisfaction. This account of the facts, though limited in scope, is unobjectionable. But the "Enmity-Alliance" framework creates misleading impressions. What significance can an enmity between the two nations have when their representatives accorded each other most friendly receptions, or when

the enmity was "unknown and unrequited" by the American public? The trade war would appear less dramatic had the author related that between 1931 and 1941 the value of Australian imports from the US steadily increased, while Australian exports to the US jumped to twice (1935-1936) and then four times (1936-1937) their previous annual averages at a time when the Diversion Policy was at its height. Less drama and more reliance on sources in addition to the almost exclusively used US diplomatic correspondence might have led to a more balanced evaluation of American-Australian relations.

University of Hawaii

WERNER LEVI

Ancient and Medieval

MYCENAEAN STUDIES: PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM FOR MYCENAEAN STUDIES HELD AT "WINGSPREAD," 4-8 SEPTEMBER 1961. Edited by *Emmett L. Bennett, Jr.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1964. Pp. x, 284. \$6.00.) The foremost item to report regarding this book is that, for the historian, the pickings are lean. The special field of Mycenaean studies is now ten years old. Its earliest classic, Ventris' and Chadwick's *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (1956), included a slender and cautious section on Mycenaean society, a subject on which little progress has since been made. The field is still overwhelmingly linguistic—in the strictest sense, that is, phonetics, morphology, syntax, etymology—a fact amply illustrated by the contents of the present volume, which consists of a handsome publication of the twenty-one papers presented at the colloquium. For the historian the article by Lejeune on the Mycenaean economic vocabulary is the most promising inasmuch as the Mycenaean documents are fundamentally economic in nature. The article consists of an exhaustive presentation and analysis of the evidence for four specific words which *prima facie* appear to be economic terms. Lejeune concludes that the locutions are indeed economic terms and assigns a tentative verbal signification to each. This is modest enough (and perhaps even less so; see the potentially devastating effect of Levin's "Remarks"), but at this stage of Mycenaean studies the historian may not expect more. Other articles, notably Graham's comparing Minoan and contemporary Near Eastern palace architecture and Puhvel's on origins of religious cults, contain implications of value to the historian, although they too are necessarily suggestive rather than definitive. At the conclusion of the volume are an appendix containing the "Wingspread Convention" (offering recommendations of conventional signs to be used in transcribing and editing Linear B texts) and a useful set of basic bibliographies. It is a pity that nearly three years elapsed between delivery of the papers and publication. The Mycenaean field is one in which new contributions are highly tentative, and the speed with which findings are disseminated and discussed is important. Ventris' famous "Work Notes," circulated rapidly at his own expense, were more valuable to scholarship than would have been a foundation supported volume, lavish but late.

Smith College

LOUIS COHN-HAFT

EARLY GREEK ARMOUR AND WEAPONS: FROM THE END OF THE BRONZE AGE TO 600 B.C. By *Anthony Snodgrass*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1964. Pp. xi, 280, 37 plates. \$12.50.) This carefully documented study takes up, item by item, the weapons and armor used during the shadowy four centuries from about 1100 to about 700 B.C., between the death of the Mycenaean warrior and the birth of the Greek hoplite. Seven chapters deal with the helmet, shield, body armor, sword, spear, bow, and chariot, analyzing all

archaeological evidence available for each. An eighth reviews Homer and other literary evidence, and a final one the problem of Central European influence. Snodgrass' major point is that the armor of the hoplite was by no means developed at one time, nor was it connected with any decisive change in tactics. Practically all of it was present in the Bronze Age, though some items had to be reintroduced after falling out of use and some were considerably improved. The introduction of hoplite tactics came after the creation of the hoplite's outfit and developed at different times in different places, depending upon circumstances. Snodgrass credits two major improvements to the Greeks: the excellent Corinthian helmet made of a single sheet of bronze and the hoplite shield with its arm band and handgrip. From the Near East the Greeks may have learned the technique of ironworking; other debts seem to be minor. As for Central Europe, Snodgrass argues convincingly against the current fashion of ascribing much to its influence; the Greek sword, practically always of iron from the eleventh century on, in his judgment parallels the development in Central Europe rather than follows from it. His discussion of Homer emphasizes the poet's knowledge of Bronze Age elements and reduces the "post-Homeric" elements to the metal shield and the throwing spear. Body armor is conspicuously absent from this list, for the spectacular find in 1960 of a Mycenaean corselet dismisses at one stroke all the ink spilled to prove that passages mentioning the corselet are later interpolations. Most of the time Snodgrass shows caution in using the *argumentum ex silentio*, particularly dangerous when the only evidence is archaeological and sparse. However, even he occasionally succumbs to its attractions: since body armor, the helmet, and the chariot are not attested between the eleventh and eighth century B.C., he concludes that the Dark Age was too poor to afford such luxuries and that they dropped out of use to be later revived. Any day a turn of the spade may wreak havoc with these conclusions. The scholarly world owes thanks to the author for a job well done; but none whatsoever to his publisher, who has given few and poor plates to a book that cries for a profusion of good illustration. The exalted price, pardonable if for pictures, is for decking out this sober study in the trappings of a deluxe edition.

New York University

LIONEL CASSON

HEIMSKRINGLA: HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF NORWAY. By *Snorri Sturluson*. Translated with introduction and notes by *Lee M. Hollander*. (Austin: University of Texas Press for the American-Scandinavian Foundation. 1964. Pp. xxvi, 854. \$10.00.) Snorri Sturluson's *History*, in some respects the most important historical work to appear in medieval Scandinavia, has been printed many times since the seventeenth century, on occasion in the original Icelandic, but more often in translation—Swedish, Danish, Norwegian (most frequently), German, and English. That a fresh English version is warranted is readily evident from Hollander's volume. As the basis for his version he has used the text of Bjarni Athalbarnarson's rendering in the original (3 vols., 1941–51) of the Kringla MS. and variants of other relevant manuscripts. The merit of Hollander's translation lies in the attention given to the scaldic verses, which were heavily relied on by Snorri as historical sources and liberally incorporated into his prose. The poetic usages they embody are often obscure in meaning. They have often given translators much trouble. Hollander, a specialist in early Scandinavian literature, is a close student of this poetic form and has dealt penetratingly with it in other contexts such as in the introduction to his *The Skalds: A Selection of Their Poems* (1945). A number of previous translators have supplied extended "introductions" to their versions; in contrast, Hollander's similar essay is of modest length. In it he reviews the major events in Snorri's disturbed career, places him in the succession of saga writers, surveys the manuscript versions of the *History* that have come down to us, and enumerates important printings of the work, in the original or in continental

languages. Welcome here would have been some mention of antecedent versions in English, such as those by Laing (1844), Morris and Magnussen (1893 ff.), and Monsen (1932); brief as the comments might be, they would help to set off the merits of the new translation. For its merits are substantial. The text of the *History* is presented in direct, simple phrasing, and the scaldic verses, provided with extensive footnoting, are carefully rendered. The specialist will be grateful for the good index and the inclusion of many fine drawings by distinguished Norwegian artists, selected from Storm's handsome Norwegian translation (1899, 1914). There are clarifying maps of Scandinavia and the British Isles (though one misses any equivalent map of Iceland to help identify localities involving Snorri's life and lineage). With an ample format and an attractive typographical pattern this volume is a credit to both translator and publisher, and it will surely remain the definitive English printing for some time to come.

New York University

OSCAR J. FALNES

INSTITUTIONS ECCLÉSIASTIQUES DE LA CHRÉTIENTÉ MÉDIÉVALE. Part 1, Books II to VI. By *Gabriel Le Bras*. [Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, Volume XII.] ([Paris:] Bloud & Gay. 1964. Pp. 236-596, 11.) This volume by the greatest living authority on medieval ecclesiastical institutions is a masterpiece of lucid exposition and compression. In the previously published Book I, Le Bras gave a brilliant sketch of the growth of medieval ecclesiastical jurisprudence. Now he turns to an analysis of the institutional structure of the Church. First he discusses the role of the pope as supreme legislator and judge, emphasizing of course the unique status attributed to him as Vicar of Christ but also commenting on the importance in the Middle Ages of the Augustinian doctrine that the pope stood as a symbol or representative of the whole Church. Next he discusses the status and function of the cardinals, the role of general councils in the life of the Church, and then the organization of the papal bureaucracy. In his subsequent analysis Le Bras moves from the center outward, describing in turn the structure of the diocese, the parish, the older monastic communities, and the newer mendicant orders. A final chapter discusses the imposing external unity and the disruptive internal tensions that characterized the whole vast fabric of Church government. The book is valuable for its orderly presentation of an important body of information and above all for the shrewdness and wisdom of its insights. The author also provides a rich if not always critical bibliography, and it is noteworthy that, unlike some eminent French historians, he is careful to include the recent works of English and American scholars.

Cornell University

BRIAN TIERNEY

HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL CROATIA. By *Stanko Guldescu*. [Studies in European History, Number 1.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1964. Pp. 351. Glds. 45.) One of the most worked over fields in Croatian history is the medieval period, which has attracted nearly every leading Croatian historian (Rački, Kukuljević, Tkalčić, Smičiklas, Klaić, Šišić). This is natural, for it was to the origins of the Croatian nation that native historians first turned. Like other peoples, the Croats sought national inspiration in the distant past and felt called upon to tell the world about their former glory in the heyday of the independent Croatian state. In times of national crisis patriotic Croatian historians instinctively go back to the medieval golden age in quest of solace and spiritual succor. This tendency is manifested once again by Guldescu, either because of the loss of the "Independent State of Croatia," a wartime Fascist creation, or because the nation had succumbed to Communism, or for both reasons. In an effort to show that the Croats are something better than Slavs, the author endorses the flimsy theories that suggest that the Croats are Slavonicized Iranians, Goths, or some

other people. He denies the Serbs any right to Bosnia by offering a variety of data to prove "the essentially Croatian character of medieval Bosnia." For the author, as for most Croatian nationalist historians, the Drina River marks the boundary between Croatia and Serbia. The city of Sarajevo is considered the geographical center of the Croatian lands. Before 1463, according to the author, "there was no trace of Eastern Orthodoxy in Bosnia since very few Serbs resided in this land," and "the inhabitant of Bosnia consisted of obstinate Bogumils or less obstinate ones who accepted Roman Catholicism in order to save their necks." The Orthodox element, it is claimed, came to Bosnia with the Turks, and many of "the descendants of Croat Bogumils—or of Croat Catholic element" were converted to Orthodoxy. Under the Turks the Catholic population of Bosnia was depleted through the forced emigration of the Croatian nobility and through the conversion of Croatian Bogomiles and Catholics to Serbian Orthodoxy or Islam. Those of the Bosnian Catholics who were left under the Turks "occupied a status inferior to that of either the Moslem or Orthodox inhabitants of the country." Today, we are told, a large "part of the Croat nation is still Moslem." These statements regarding the Serbs and Orthodoxy in Bosnia are sheer speculations that cannot be substantiated by evidence. The statement on the Bogomiles is confusing and contradictory. Guldescu fails to provide a clear assessment of the historical significance of Croatia's union with Hungary. In one place we are told that "the substitution of Hungarian for national kings during the long drawn out era proved to be a disaster for the Croats," yet in another place the author states that the union "was as much to the advantage of the Croatians as to that of the Magyars. . .," that it enabled Croatia to maintain its "individuality," and that "the Croat-Hungarian union during the middle ages was a harmonious one as far as the bulk of the peoples of both nations were concerned." The author regrets that "this union did not find a lasting political expression." Although Guldescu has consulted an impressive array of sources, he adds nothing new to our existing knowledge of Croatian history, and his interpretations are marred by nationalistic bias. Typical of his attitude is his refusal to use the term Dubrovnik for Ragusa because of its alleged Serbian origin.

Stanford University

WAYNE S. VUCINICH

THE TWO KINGDOMS: ECCLESIOLOGY IN CAROLINGIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT. By *Karl Frederick Morrison*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. xvi, 297. \$6.50.) The author has chosen a difficult task: to reconstruct the presuppositions of ninth-century attempts to define the spheres of juristic competence of the secular and clerical powers. His careful scrutiny of the sources allows him to show convincingly that much of Carolingian political thought was a product of paradoxical assumptions that necessarily generated unresolvable dilemmas in both practice and theory. On the one hand, the Carolingians assumed uniformly that the world was one, that it was ruled by one God, under terms revealed in Holy Writ, and that all power derived from that supreme governing agent. On the other hand, practical exigency required that jurisdictional distinctions be drawn within the world in functional terms, between those whose specific task it was to minister to the needs of the body and those designated to care for the needs of the soul. In short, although the world was one in theory, society was twofold in so far as a distinction between material and spiritual needs had to be drawn in practice. While theology tended to monistic solutions to most problems, political thought and ecclesiology tended to dualism or pluralism. But the monistic tendency was stronger than any alternative because, given the nature of the Fall, the natural and practical spheres lacked any dignifying principle. When disputes arose over the areas of competence between pope and king, bishop and archbishop, or pope and episcopacy, as they were bound to do when any official tried to translate his powers into practical action, there was no

principle with sufficient autonomy to allow for resolution of the dispute in purely legal terms. Disputes were therefore inevitably resolved by force on the practical level and inevitably escalated (if I may be permitted the term) to discussions about the nature of the whole world process on the theoretical level. What was lacking was the principle of jurisdictional subsovereignty within the divinely governed whole. Morrison limits himself to a consideration of the theoretical dilemmas that the assumptions of Carolingian political thought generated. He has done a good job, but he would do a further service to scholarship if he were now to turn to the problem of the Carolingian conception of nature contained in the seemingly obscure texts of Carolingian Biblical exegetes. There is where he will find the key to the dilemmas that he has skillfully exposed.

University of Rochester

HAYDEN V. WHITE

LAXTON: THE LAST ENGLISH OPEN FIELD VILLAGE. By *J. D. Chambers*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1964. Pp. 44. 70 cents.) Most students of medieval English agrarian history know that at least one open-field village still exists, more or less intact, at Laxton in Nottinghamshire, but few know the reasons for its survival or its present state. The Ministry of Agriculture, now the landlord of Laxton, has prepared an attractive paperbacked booklet containing a businesslike description of the present-day village and an informative historical account. Professor Chambers of Nottingham University has written a scholarly text with a full discussion of agrarian and manorial arrangements, past and present, and with a short account of the church and castle—in sum, a brief, but comprehensive history of the village. The booklet will be of much use in the classroom since there are clear explanations of terms and of practice. The illustrations are numerous and useful; above all, there are several well-prepared maps making vivid the layout of the village at the various stages of its history.

Haverford College

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

THE EARLY CHARTERS OF WESSEX. By *H.P.R. Finberg*. [Studies in Early English History, Number 3.] (Leicester: Leicester University Press. 1964. Pp. 281. 50s.) This is the third volume of Mr. Finberg's trilogy, a hand list of early (pre-Conquest) western charters. It is clearly recognizable Finberg—useful, stimulating, concise, truculent. It continues the Finberg-Michelin notations: one to four stars as the completeness of the fabrication of the charter rises. The book is convincingly enthusiastic about the importance of local topographical knowledge and the perambulation of boundaries; it is the work of a walking historian. Finberg attacks those who insist upon too much formal diplomatic, although he himself, in spite of his avoiding styles and protocols, often uses, and very well, diplomatic techniques in the pure Mabillon tradition. Finberg is more tolerant of fake charters than of past historians. This tolerance, a "more trustful approach," allows him to produce much of value in his discussions of King Ethelwulf's decimations and of Winchester cathedral endowments and diplomatic. He really exposes a lot both about tenure and government. He is particularly good when, in talking of Ethelwold, he examines "the falsification of history" and (in connection with Mr. Eric John's work) seignorial administration. He indulges himself, too much I think, in a flamboyant sort of shorthand; this makes his attacks on Maitland, for example, seem additionally gross, when, for instance, he talks of the "anti-clerical Maitland, always prone to believe the worst of men in holy orders. . . ." Finberg moves quickly from point to point, embellishing each with his acerbic intelligence. All of this, of course, is in some ways incidental, a bonus that he cannot restrain himself from adding to his extremely useful calendar.

University of California, Berkeley

ROBERT BRENTANO

A SOCIEDADE MEDIEVAL PORTUGUESA: ASPECTOS DE VIDA QUOTIDIANA. By *A. H. de Oliveira Marques*. (Lisbon: Livraria Sá de Costa Editora. 1964. Pp. xx, 301.)

Professor Oliveira Marques recognizes the inescapable limitations of this, as of any, "trabalho de pioneiro," but in courageously attempting a comprehensive survey of the poorly explored field of medieval Portuguese social history he has, nevertheless, produced an excellent and useful book, richly informative and delightfully written. The ten chapters trace basic aspects of life from the cradle to the grave: food, dress, the home, hygiene and health, love (careless and licit), work, popular religion, general culture, amusements, and funeral practices. The chronological limits extend from the twelfth through the fifteenth century. Given the sorts of materials chiefly drawn upon (manuscript and published documents, works of literature and art), this results in undue concentration upon the close of the medieval period. Each chapter is supplemented by a compact bibliographical essay, the content of which is nowhere else so readily found, and there are numerous medieval illustrations as well as V. André's engaging sketches. As compared with, say, Homans' *English Villagers* or Bloch's *Société féodale*, the work appears weakest in its handling of the family and of the effects of kinship and dependency groups upon the individual and society and in its general scanting of the peasantry, the largest social class. Deliberate exclusion of Jewish and Muslim elements runs counter to current concern with the triangular dialectic of Iberian formation. Too little attention is paid to regional diversity, for the contrasts of Minhotan and Beiran life with that of Alemtejo and Algarve were, again, especially prominent in the peasant sector. More should have been done with urban and village topography, floor plans are needed for the house types described, and the erroneous presentation of the bullfight as Moorish obscures its function as a municipal public sport. In contrast, on the effect upon health of dietary deficiencies, the advent of the "fashion" concept in masculine and feminine dress, the varieties of medieval furniture, the gulf between popular religiosity and crumbling late medieval moral standards, not least among the clergy, and on many other topics, fresh and judiciously analyzed data are provided. In short, although, as the author notes, each of his chapters merits a book, this is a valuable, highly original addition to the literature on medieval Portugal, important in itself and opening up whole new lines of investigation for the future. An English translation is herewith commended to some enterprising university press.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

LOUIS VII ET SON ROYAUME. By *Marcel Pacaut*. Preface by *Robert Fawtier*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1964. Pp. 258.) Between Louis VI, ruler of a petty principality, and Philip Augustus, the first real king of France, stands Louis VII. He was not a heroic nor a striking figure, yet most historians would agree that he left the monarchy stronger than he found it. But the problem of how he achieved this has been evaded. M. Pacaut is the first to give an answer, based on full knowledge of the sources, to this perplexing question. With one exception, his explanations are clear, succinct, and convincing. First, Louis was able to learn. Louis the Young was indeed young—and foolish—when he became king. The successive shocks of the crusade and the divorce and the death of his most trusted advisers taught him wisdom. After 1152 he may have been overcautious, but he never put himself in a position that risked serious losses. Second, Louis developed genuine political skill; he knew what was possible and how to achieve it. What was possible was not a frontal assault on the Plantagenet Empire, but the creation of alliances and protectorates to enable him to deal with that Empire as an equal. He held the east of France (Flanders, Champagne, Burgundy) together against the Angevin dominated west. He realized the importance of finding an outlet to the south through Auvergne so that he could not be encircled, and so that royal influence

was felt, if only sporadically, in Languedoc. In doing this, he developed considerable skill as a diplomat and made the monarchy more of a force in French politics than it had been for centuries. Third, at the cost of relatively small concessions, he kept the Church on his side. The bishoprics and abbeys that he aided and protected supported his cause. They also gave him excuses for intervening in areas where the authority of the local lord was weak and for drawing cases to his court. Fourth, he improved the administration and increased the revenues of the royal domain. This is the one place where Pacaut has a somewhat exaggerated idea of Louis's abilities. It is probably true that Louis got more out of his *prévôts* than his father had done, that he, and not Philip Augustus, introduced the first *baillis*, and that he exploited neglected resources. But to move from these statements, through a series of dubious calculations, to the assertion that Louis VII had an income greater than Henry II's is unjustified. Henry's accounting methods were so far ahead of those of Louis that no real comparison is possible; it is scarcely fair to take a figure based on the solid evidence of the Pipe Rolls and balance it against one derived from a series of ingenious hypotheses. Henry had enough money to wage war simultaneously on many fronts; even when Henry was most overextended Louis could attack at only one point. This may have been prudence; it was also probably lack of resources. Otherwise, the book is admirable. A long-standing and irritating gap in the history of the Capetian monarchy has been filled in a most satisfactory way.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

THE ADMINISTRATION OF IRELAND, 1172-1377. By H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles. [Coimisiún Láimhscríbhinní na hÉireann.] (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Coimisiún. 1963. Pp. xiii, 300. £2 10s.) These two authors writing together or individually are noted for detailed, specialized studies and for more general works of synthesis, usually stimulating, often controversial. This is a work of detailed scholarship, but more in the nature of a handbook similar to that of the lists of English officers of state in Sir F. Maurice Powicke's *Handbook of British Chronology*. Included are: chief governors, chancellors, treasurers, barons of the Exchequer, escheators, justices, legal representatives of the king, Keepers of the Rolls, and clerks of common pleas of the Exchequer. The authors have been unusually successful in giving clear references to their sources and indicating special difficulties, while still presenting a mass of information in convenient tabular form. The core of these lists was extracted from the Issue Rolls of the Irish Exchequer (now in the Public Record Office in London) and supplemented from a variety of other records, both printed and unprinted. In their use of these Issue Rolls, the authors have demonstrated something of the importance of what they consider the most valuable of Irish medieval records and have laid the groundwork for further research with an appendix to guide students to the extant Issue Rolls, Receipt Rolls, and Enrolled Accounts. With their discussion of the emergence of the courts of common law and the organization and development of the Irish Exchequer the authors touch upon the general history of Ireland. Still, the introduction is in many ways a disappointment. Its rather disjointed and somewhat perfunctory discussion of the various subjects treated shows all the defects of a pioneering effort, without providing the kind of germinal study that Richardson did in his brilliant pages on the English justiciar in his introduction to the *Memoranda Roll for 1 John*. The brief remarks on the value of administrative history are interesting, but they are out of character with the rest of the book. Historians can be grateful, nevertheless, for the useful tools this book provides, and perhaps some will find a challenge in the opportunity that the authors suggest exists for further research in the administrative history of medieval Ireland.

Duke University

CHARLES R. YOUNG

DAS BANNMEILENRECHT: EIN BEITRAG DER MITTELALTERLICHEN OSTSIEDLUNG ZUR WIRTSCHAFTLICHEN UND RECHTLICHEN VERSCHRÄNKUNG VON STADT UND LAND. By *Winfried Küchler*. [Marburger Ostforschungen im Auftrage des Johann-Gottfried-Herder-Forschungsrates e. V., Number 24.] (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag. 1964. Pp. vii, 194.) This well-documented contribution to German *Ostforschung* is concerned with the nature and functions of the *Bannmeile* (*banlieue*) pertaining to the towns founded by German and Flemish settlers in Silesia and Meran during the thirteenth century. The immunity originated in the attempt of the town authorities to prevent the establishment of Slavic inns and taverns (*tabernae more gentis Slavorum*) in the environs. These inns were customarily used by itinerant Slav merchants for the display and sale of their wares, and hence constituted a potential threat to the market monopoly of the town. The prohibition was subsequently extended to cover brewing, baking, weaving, and other handicrafts in the vicinity. The author contends that the *Gasthausbann* proclaimed by the towns of Silesia and Meran was a novel and original contribution to the juridical concept of the *banlieue*, which had been normally initiated elsewhere by an express prohibition of the holding of markets in the neighborhood of the town concerned. Thus the *Gasthausbann* exerted by the urban settlers in Silesia and Meran was a local adaptation, entailed by the possibility of Slav commercial competition, of the more generalized *Marktbann* originally written into the foundation charter of Leipzig (about 1160). But the author is on far more dangerous ground when he asserts that the *Braubann* and *Gewerbebann* of the Silesian towns spread westward and were "received" by the cities of central Germany. The desire to curtail or abolish competition did not require prompting from external sources; it was an inveterate principle of municipal policy. The final portion of the work is a re-examination of the celebrated fifth clause of the *Statutum in favorem principum* conceded to the German territorial princes by Emperor Frederick II in 1232. In this clause the *banlieue* was formally abolished by Frederick in *civitatibus nostris novis*. The author concludes that the enactment related only to those Belgian and Flemish towns that held of the Empire. But the textual reference to "new towns" suggests the possibility that the Emperor also conceded the abolition of the *banlieue* in the case of the towns that he had been founding since 1220 in Swabia and Alsace. On this point the author might have consulted with advantage the useful study of Hella Fein, *Die staufischen Städtegründungen im Elsass* (1939). In general, however, he is fully conversant with the sources and literature of his subject, and his comparative survey of the *Bannmeilenrecht* in Eastern and Western Europe merits respect and attention. His solid and informative study embodies a further contribution to our knowledge of the complex changes and adaptations undergone by urban law and customs when they were transplanted to a "frontier" environment.

McGill University

C. C. BAYLEY

THE REGISTER OF EUDES OF ROUEN. Translated by *Sydney M. Brown*. Edited with an introduction, notes, and appendix by *Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan*. [The Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number 72.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1964. Pp. xxxvi, 779. \$15.00.) When Eudes Rigaud became archbishop of Rouen in 1248, he resolved to enforce ecclesiastical discipline in his diocese and province by systematic exercise of the metropolitan right of visitation. During the next twenty-two years, he personally visited and revisited dozens of monasteries, chapters, and parishes, conducting an inquest at each to discover and correct deviations from canon law. The findings were meticulously entered in his journal, which since its publication in 1852 has been recognized as the best single source for the life of an ecclesiastical province and its administrator, but the rarity of Bonnin's edition has made it inaccessible to most American scholars, not to mention their lack-Latin students. Now the work has

become generally available with the appearance in 1964 of both an English translation and a reprint of the original edition by microfilm-xerography (University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich.). The English version, one of the longest of the "Records of Civilization," has been thirty years in preparation: Sydney M. Brown devoted twenty years to the translation itself, and after his death in 1952, Jeremiah O'Sullivan prepared the work for publication, providing the extensive introduction and annotations which are an indispensable guide to the nonspecialist. Both men have done a difficult job well. From an original in which technical terms abound, the translator has produced a readable text through judicious paraphrase. Bonnin's text has been followed with tacit corrections from the manuscript, and all but one of the numerous documents that he relegated to an appendix have been omitted with good reason. The introduction and notes should enable one who comes to the text with only a general knowledge of the medieval Church to understand the institutional context. The indexes are no match for Bonnin's, which is over four times longer, but the index of visitations will be helpful even to the specialist. That no map of the province has been supplied to illustrate the archbishop's travels is indeed unfortunate, since few readers will have an adequate substitute. The teacher of medieval history will find the book an admirable source for undergraduate research papers on a multitude of topics for which nothing comparable has been available in the past.

University of Kentucky

RICHARD KAY

I REGISTRI DELLA CANCELLERIA ANGIOINA. Volumes I-XVII, 1266-1277. Edited by *Riccardo Filangieri* with the collaboration of the Neapolitan archivists. [Testi e documenti di storia napoletana pubblicata dall'Accademia Pontaniana.] (Naples: Presso l'Accademia. 1950-63. Pp. clxxxiii; 5,350, not consecutively numbered.) The archives of the Angevin chancery at Naples were one of the world's richest depositories of source material for the later Middle Ages. In originals or transcripts they preserved, up to 1943, over 500,000 documents of the Angevin kings of Naples (1265-1435). The first seventeen volumes cover the period 1266-1277. Since 1336 the archives have been suffering grave losses and damages from rain, revolts, sieges, fire, and time. This priceless collection no longer exists as original manuscripts. During World War II the curators removed the surviving archives to a remote Apennine villa to protect them from air raids. There on September 30, 1943, they were completely destroyed in the fire started by order of a German commander who apparently wanted to punish the Italians for their desertion of the Axis alliance. Fortunately, by that time large portions of the archives had already found their way into various publications, scholars' notes, or microfilms. After the war, the Neapolitan archivists assembled from all over the world documents, publications, notes, microfilms, and other copies of material originally recorded in the Angevin registers. From these the archivists have begun reconstructing and publishing the registers, not in the confused state in which they were in 1943, but as written in the Angevin period. Now in convenient and well-ordered printed form the archives are more useful, even in their attenuated state, than they were previously. The work of the editors is remarkably thorough, accurate, and painstaking. At the bottom of each entry the source or sources from which it was taken appear. At least one obscure publication that would add a few more documents to their collection, however, seems to have escaped the archivists: Ernst Strehlke, "Urkundliches zur Münzgeschichte des Königreiches Neapel im XIII, XIV, and XV. Jahrhunderte," *Berliner Blätter für Münz, Siegel und Wappen Kunde*, I (1863), 55-74. It is also possible that the works of the numismatist Arturo Sambon would yield a few more documents of the same type. The range of the material is vast. The reconstructed archives offer a rich mine of information which, when exploited, will reinforce or undermine most theories now held about the later Middle Ages. The Angevin archives

are useful for historians of other ages and other areas. Even at the current rate of about a volume a year it may take a century for the whole collection to appear. Still no major library should fail to acquire these volumes as they appear.

Louisiana State University

WILLIAM A. PERCY, JR.

POLITICA E SOCIETÀ NELLA SICILIA ARAGONESE. By *Vincenzo d'Alessandro*. [Studi di storia medievale e moderna, Number 1.] (Palermo: U. Manfredi Editore. [1963.] Pp. 403. L. 4,000.) In this volume Vincenzo d'Alessandro attempts a first synthesis of the investigations of such scholars as I. Carini, F. Giunta, R. Moscati, A. Boscoli, G. Fasola, and others, supplemented by his own comprehensive collection of documents from the Sicilian archives. D'Alessandro describes the Aragonese period of Sicilian history (1282-1416) as a sad and tedious age since it saw the affairs of the island fall into the hands of the feudal barons, a development that former dynasties had prevented. The book begins with a useful introduction on the political geography of the island, illustrated by a chart showing the distribution of the feudal estates and dependencies of the great baronial families over the three main sections of the island named after their valleys, Mazara, Noto, and Demone. Part I is devoted to the power struggle among the baronial factions under four subsequent reigns and to the weak and futile attempts of the crown to restore public administration and to recover what was left of royal revenues, political functions, domanial land, and independent cities. In Part II the author gives an impressive picture of how the political and military power of the feudal barons led to their control of the economic life of the island. Since agriculture was at that time the only industry that produced for export, the barons' hold on the land and on the rural laborers gave them absolute power over production as well as trade in grain and other foodstuff. By means of an intricate system of prohibitions, extortions, and a restrictive labor legislation and through such monopolies as "the right of first sale" and the levying of internal tolls and dues, they stifled all initiative of the classes excluded from the profits of the trade and barred all attempts toward reform. The same holds true for the city corporations, artisans, and merchants. They found themselves crushed between the monopolies and privileges of the barons and those of the foreign merchants, who ever since the reign of Frederic II controlled export and import trade in Sicily. Yet the tradition of corporative organization and operation remained alive throughout this period, and when the new Aragonese rulers prepared the annexation of the island in the last decade of the fourteenth century, they could count on the support of the middle class organized as the Third Estate in the Parliament of Syracuse in 1398 and ever after. Appendix I contains a number of important documents on the main political questions discussed in Part I of the book. Appendix II includes chronological tables of prices for such commodities as wheat, rye, and cheese, and of wages for laborers and artisans of various trades.

New York, New York

HELENE WIERUSZOWSKI

IL MANUALE DI MERCATURA DI SAMINIATO DE' RICCI. By *Antonia Borlandi*. [Università di Genova, Istituto di Storia Medievale e Moderna, Fonti e studi, Number 4.] (Genoa: Di Stefano. 1963. Pp. 181.) Mercantile manuals constitute a small but informative source for the history of European commerce and banking in the late Middle Ages. And this hitherto unpublished and unutilized manual is a valuable increment to the small collection of these works. For the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, only five manuals of significant size and comprehensiveness have been discovered, all but one by Florentine merchants. But, as the editor notes, this compilation by Saminiato Ricci is particularly valuable for it was written in Genoa and thus oriented toward the specific problems of Ligurian commercial activity. Its date of composition (1396) is likewise significant, for it is equidistant in time from the two earliest manuals by Pegolotti and

the anonymous Venetian author of the *Tarifa* (ca. 1340), and the later handbooks of Chiarini and Giovanni da Uzzano (ca. 1450). In her excellent introduction, Dr. Borlandi has carefully compared the Ricci manual with these other sources and has neatly fitted it into the economic and political milieu of the late fourteenth century. The manual is typical of the genre. It contains descriptions of monies, weights and measures, tariffs and gabelles, transportation costs: essential knowledge for an international merchant. It is particularly informative on coinage and monetary exchange, but rather less detailed on commercial products and operations than Pegolotti's manual. Its heavy emphasis on Italian trade and banking, and its scanty references to the Levant, may reflect Ricci's own business interests, which were not so broad, geographically, as those of Pegolotti, the agent of the great Bardi firm. The utility of this manual for contemporaries is attested by its transcription, twenty years later, by an agent of the Medici, Giovanni da Pescia, who added eight chapters to the original, and whose copy alone has survived.

University of California, Berkeley

GENE A. BRUCKER

OBRAZOVANIE RUSSKOGO TSENTRALIZOVANNOGO GOSUDARSTVA V XIV-XV VEKAKH: OCHERKI SOTSIAL'NO-EKONOMICHESKOE I POLITICHESKOE ISTORII RUSI [The Formation of the Centralized Russian State in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Essays in the Socio-Economic and Political History of Russia]. By L. V. Cherepnin. (Moscow: Publishing House for Social and Economic Literature. 1960. Pp. 898. 26 rubles, 65 kopecks.) Professor Cherepnin's volume conforms more to its title than to his stated goal of re-examining the problem of the creation of the "Russian centralized state" in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This interpretation is admittedly Marxist, wherein the author attempts to substantiate the veracity of that historical framework with this illustration from medieval Russian history. Despite Cherepnin's attempt to deal with historical uniformities, he is forced to admit to some peculiarities in the Russian development in order to explain why his Eastern European case lagged behind the West. The ideologically imposed pattern of analysis has made for predictable, unexciting, and, in a number of instances, unacceptable historical conclusions. Preoccupation with Marxist considerations warps the extensive historiographical essay, which tends to denigrate some and to omit other major historical contributions of the past and to eulogize those of Soviet vintage; it shapes the very extensive, and often impressive, research that went into the socioeconomic section. These two parts make up fully half of the book. The other half consists largely of studies in the political history of Muscovy and the Russian north. Although this work cannot be considered a successful re-examination of these two important centuries of Muscovite expansion and political centralization, Cherepnin has nonetheless made a number of contributions to our knowledge in the disparate portions of his book. Particularly impressive are his analyses of various and varying chronicle accounts concerning some important events in Russian medieval history. While these extensive examinations give an episodic quality to the attempted linear study, the analytic epicycles are worthy of careful consideration, though a number of his conclusions will long be debated. The coverage of the second half of the fifteenth century is disappointingly conventional. Where one would have expected an examination of Muscovite administration and institutions, or at least an attempt at a study of the development of political centralization, Cherepnin has chosen to confine himself to the well-worn paths of Muscovite annexation of neighboring lands. The book lacks maps and an index, both of which are necessary for intelligibility and usability.

University of Oregon

GUSTAVE ALEF

LIBER RECEPTORUM NATIONIS ANGLICANAE (ALEMANNIAE) IN UNIVERSITATE PARIISIENSI. Volume I, LIBER RECEPTORUM NATIONIS ALEMANNIAE AB ANNO MCCCCXXV AD ANNUM MCCCCXCIV. Edited by *Astriik L. Gabriel* and *Gray C. Boyce*. [Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis, Volume VI.] (Paris: Marcel Didier. 1964. Pp. liv, 837.) This handsome edition of the *Liber Receptorum* of the English-German nation very nearly completes the plans for publishing the early records of the University of Paris. It is a worthy addition to a distinguished series. The editors have been able to identify most of the scholars mentioned in the *Liber* and have thus increased our knowledge of the careers of some eminent (and less eminent) men. The list of rectors of the university, prepared by Canon Gabriel, is more complete than any we have had before. The work as a whole tells us much of daily life at the University of Paris in the fifteenth century. The remarkable thing about the English-German nation, as Gabriel remarks in his excellent introduction, is that it continued to exist. Always the smallest of the four nations, it was reduced to a handful of members during the crises of the 1430's. It nevertheless insisted sturdily on maintaining its rights and privileges and experienced a modest recovery in the latter part of the century. Altogether, it produced 1,535 bachelors during the 69 years covered in these records. Members of the nation came mainly from the Low Countries, but there were always sizable groups from the Rhineland, Scotland, and Scandinavia. A scattered few came from the dioceses of Eastern Europe. Many were very poor; 64 per cent paid either no fees or the minimum. The university was not yet a preserve for the rich and well born. It was still performing its old task of producing leaders of the Church—teachers, scholars, and bishops.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

LA CONGIURA DE' BARONI DEL REGNO DI NAPOLI CONTRA IL RE FERDINANDO PRIMO, E GLI ALTRI SCRITTI. By *Camillo Porzio*. Edited by *Ernesto Pontieri*. (2d rev. ed.; Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1964. Pp. cxl, 424.) The familiar story of the baronial revolt (1485–1487) against King Ferrante of Naples has never been recounted with more vividness and drama than in *La Congiura* by Camillo Porzio (1526–1580), an able Neapolitan lawyer and part-time historian. Written in the early 1560's and published in 1565, the work reveals the influence of oral accounts still lingering among the heirs of the protagonists. Porzio apparently was not aware of the existence of an eyewitness account, *De bello intestino*, written by a faithful royal official, Giovanni Albino, which was published much later in 1589. Unlike Albino, Porzio was more objective in assessing the responsibility for the uprising pointing to the insatiable ambition of the barons and the absolutist policies of Ferrante and his bellicose son, Alfonso. The outstanding literary merits of *La Congiura* attracted immediate attention and were widely admired by patriotic scholars of the *Risorgimento*, who produced no less than twelve editions and regarded Porzio as a defender of liberty against tyranny. Its popularity is also attested by the fact that it achieved the status of a classic studied in the secondary schools of united Italy. It was only toward the end of the last century that scholars began to criticize Porzio for gross historical inaccuracies. This criticism and a changing literary vogue have considerably lessened interest in *La Congiura* to such an extent that no edition has appeared since 1907. Professor Ernesto Pontieri, a scholar whose numerous works have illuminated the reign of Ferrante, is eminently qualified to give an informed judgment on the historical accuracy of *La Congiura*. In a meaty introduction Pontieri discusses Porzio's career and works and evaluates his significance as a historian. Porzio's historical shortcomings are readily admitted. Among these the most serious are the paucity of the sources used (primarily the *Processi* instituted by Ferrante against the barons and published by the King to justify his bloody reprisals), and the failure to understand the fundamental causes for the re-

volt, which led Porzio to isolate it and ignore its relationship to a similar uprising in 1459-1464. On the other hand, Porzio overstressed the connection between the revolt and the French invasion of Italy in 1494. Still, *La Congiura* remains an organic and vivid treatment of a crucial episode in the history of the kingdom and of Italy as a whole, and provides a leading example of the historiography of the Counter Reformation. This volume also contains the only two other writings left us by Porzio: the *Istoria d'Italia*, which was intended as a continuation of Paolo Giovio's *Historiarum sui temporis*, but only two books were written covering the period 1547-1551; and the *Relazione del Regno di Napoli al Marchese di Mondesciar, Vicerè di Napoli, tra il 1577 e il 1579*, which describes the geography, economy, and administration of the kingdom for the benefit of the Marquis of Mondejar. Both works display Porzio's Neapolitan patriotism resentful of Spanish attempts to impose absolutism on Naples. It should be noted that none of Porzio's manuscripts have survived so that Pontieri has been constrained to rely on the earliest printed versions and on seventeenth-century manuscripts. The texts are followed by extensive appendixes giving the history of the manuscripts and editions, variant readings, and a glossary of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century words whose meanings have been modified in subsequent centuries. An excellent index of persons and places closes the volume. This, a slightly revised edition of one published in 1958, can be considered definitive unless additional manuscripts are discovered that are more likely to alter somewhat the text of the minor works.

University of Massachusetts

VINCENT ILARDI

Modern Europe

CHRISTIANITAS AFFLICTA: EUROPA, DAS REICH UND DIE PÄPSTLICHE POLITIK IM NIEDERGANG DER HEGEMONIE KAISER KARLS V. (1552-1556). By *Heinrich Lutz*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1964. Pp. 522. DM 52.) The last four years of Charles V's reign were fraught with consequences for the political and religious organization of Europe during the next two centuries. The war of attrition between France and Charles brought no clear advantages to either side. Rather, it made possible the further expansion of the Ottoman Empire and the entrenchment of Protestantism in Germany and Switzerland. The death of Julius III ended effective efforts to retain for the papacy its role as mediator in conflicts between Christian powers. The death of the childless Mary Tudor largely destroyed Habsburg expectations of building an empire in the northwest independent of Germany. Philip's renunciation of any hopes to succeed his uncle as Holy Roman Emperor only marked the final step in the splitting of the Habsburg possessions. Europe would henceforth be a congeries of competing states incapable of unity at home or abroad. This work undertakes to discuss these events in detail with an eye to illustrating the way in which two essentially opposed concepts of Christianity worked themselves out during these years of crisis. One concept, represented by the views of Charles's adviser Gattinara, saw in Christianity an ideal not merely of religious but of political unity. There should be only one temporal leader in Europe, as there should be only one spiritual. The other concept, exemplified in the thought of Reginald Cardinal Pole, saw in Christianity a unity of thought and belief but not an excuse for political hegemony exercised by a single power. The plan of the book is attractive; its execution, unfortunately, falls short of success. The author provides us with an exhaustive account of the diplomatic history of the years 1552-1556 in which he discusses the plans and proceedings of the chief actors, one by one. The greater part of the book is taken up with the activities of Charles V and Julius III, but there are large sections devoted to Ferdinand of Austria, Philip of Spain, Cardinal Pole, and Paul IV. The mass of detail tends to obscure the interaction of practice with fundamental principle—the very thing that the author wishes to illuminate. Occa-

sionally, as with the discussion of Pole's *Oratione in Materia di Pace*, the reader is given a clear picture of this interaction. Too often he is left to draw his own conclusions. Nonetheless, the book is useful, particularly for straight diplomatic history. The author provides a good, solid bibliography and has obviously made considerable use of archival materials in Rome, Brussels, Vienna, and other princely capitals. His style tends to be turgid. He seems to have forgotten the value of the simple declarative sentence. But he affords the reader some helpful insights into the question of European unity in the mid-sixteenth century.

Syracuse University

GEORGE A. HOAR

CAPITA SELECTA VENETO-BELGICA. Volume I, 1629-1631. By J. J. Poelhekke. [Studiën van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome, Number 4.] (The Hague: Staatsdrukkerij- en Uitgeverijbedrijf. 1964. Pp. 204.) Despite the fame of the Venetian relations as sources for European history, the ambassadorial dispatches, although far richer in quantity and detail, have been little used, especially for the seventeenth century. Yet the Serenissima's decline from strength did not mean scorn for her diplomats, who not only found roles of some significance to play now and again, but also were frequently taken into the confidence of statesmen who sought not so much their collaboration as their understanding. Such a situation marked the part played by Venetian diplomats in the negotiation of the 1630 treaty of alliance—one of a whole series—between France and the Dutch Republic; for the French and Dutch ambassadors in the respective capitals matched each other in incompetence and ill will toward their hosts, so that the Venetian envoys at The Hague and Paris helped to overcome the severe mutual distrust that hampered the renewal of the 1624 Treaty of Compiègne. This participation of the Venetians in the French-Dutch negotiations, which began in 1629 and did not truly end until the campaign of 1631, escaped the attention of historians until J. J. Poelhekke, director of the Netherlands Historical Institute in Rome, discovered the relevant materials in the Frari Archives. The present volume includes long excerpts from the important dispatches of the Venetian ambassadors in both The Hague and Paris, reproduced verbatim in the original Italian and tersely summarized in Dutch. The editor's introduction is a pearl of diplomatic history thanks to his ability to clarify an obscure and complex episode, but another of its virtues is one that his readers have come to expect from Poelhekke: a highly personal style that, happily, is as quick and witty as that of the *ambasciatori* was long winded and solemn. It is to be hoped that Poelhekke will make good his half promise to prepare at least one more similar volume someday.

Rutgers University

HERBERT H. ROWEN

L'ARRONDISSEMENT DU BRABANT SOUS L'OCCUPATION FRANÇAISE, 1794-1795: ASPECTS ADMINISTRATIFS ET ÉCONOMIQUES. By Robert Devleeshouwer. [Centre d'Histoire Économique et Sociale.] (Brussels: Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie. 1964. Pp. 560. 550 fr. B.) The fortunes of war brought French rule to Belgium twice during the French Revolution. The conquest by Dumouriez in 1792 led to the annexation of the Austrian Netherlands for a few short months in 1793. Then in 1794 came reconquest in the wake of the victory at Fleurus in June. This time, however, annexation was postponed until the following September, and for over a year the Belgian provinces were held as occupied territory and exploited by the French to support the continuing war effort to the north and east. Only when military and mercantilist considerations made annexation desirable was Belgium made a part of France. That the Belgian provinces were exploited is accepted fact. But whether or not the exploitation was deliberately harsh and brutal is another matter. Patriotic Belgian historians of an earlier generation emphasized the harshness, and French historians such as

Professor Godechot have called it a policy of exploitation "à outrance." Now M. Devleeshouwer in his thesis on the French occupation in the area now embracing the provinces of Brabant and Antwerp presents a somewhat different conclusion. The over-all strategy of the French offensive of 1794-1795 included an inevitable exploitation of the badly needed resources of the area for the support of the war effort and to bolster the French economy through a program of confiscation and requisition, using the depreciated assignats in payment. Yet, the author insists, and supports his position with much evidence, the French occupation authorities, lacking the manpower to enforce a really ruthless policy and not wanting to drive the inhabitants into open opposition, never went as far actually in exploiting the conquered provinces as the stated policies emanating from Paris prescribed, even during the first relatively harsh period of military rule prior to Thermidor. There followed a period of administrative, rather than military, organization, designed to make the requisitioning more efficient, and then a transition period and policy leading up to the final annexation and incorporation of the provinces into the French Republic. The book thus makes a useful although minor contribution to our understanding of the impact of *la grande nation* on one of its most closely related neighbors. Separate chapters are devoted to such topics as emigration, taxation, hostages, requisitions, administration, and legal, economic, and monetary developments. Yet it is unfortunate that the work does not make a more detailed contribution. We have recently become accustomed to meticulously researched local studies, such as those of Lefebvre and Soboul. This book is much more superficial, skipping as it does such an important topic as poverty, and treating only impressionistically other subjects. Physically this is a big book, in part because the author has a strong predilection for one-sentence paragraphs and the marshaling of his data *in extenso*. Otherwise it is a rather small book.

University of Arkansas

GORDON H. McNEIL

METTERNICH ET LAMENNAIS D'APRÈS LES DOCUMENTS CONSERVÉS AUX ARCHIVES DE VIENNE. By *Jean-René Derré*. [Collection de l'Institut Français de Vienne.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1963. Pp. 181. 10 fr.) This monograph recounts the unequal struggle between the liberal French abbot and the coachman of Europe, determined, with the aid of a willing and even complaisant Pope Gregory XVI, to stamp out any threat to the existing conservative union of throne and altar. So far as Metternich's actions in the Lamennais affair are concerned—the incessant pressure he brought to bear on the Pope for a clear-cut condemnation of Lamennais's teachings; his conveying of intercepted private correspondence to the Pope, both that of Lamennais and the Belgian envoy at Rome, Count Vilain XIII; and his efforts to develop a special spy network to ferret out religio-political conspiracy in France—the work does not add much to existing accounts, particularly Andreas Posch's "Lamennais und Metternich" (*Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, LXII [1954], 490-516), which Derré does not seem to have used. The background of the affair, however, is enriched with some interesting details. We learn, for example, that Lamennais and Metternich were ideological allies in the early 1820's and that it was Lamennais's best friend, Count Senfft, who took the lead in denouncing his errors to Metternich. A documentary appendix (more than half the book) enables the reader to follow the case through documents from the Vienna archives. Derré is obviously a partisan of Lamennais, repeatedly stressing his nobility and generosity of soul and conceding him only the fault of visionary imprudence. On Metternich his views may seem colored by prejudice. He writes sardonically of Metternich's "rôle d'évêque de l'extérieur," calls the whole proceeding a "shabby persecution," and emphasizes how little importance faith, charity, and a comprehension of spiritual or human values had in Metternich's attitude toward Lamennais. Yet Derré's condemna-

tion, though harsh, can be defended. Metternich had his reasons to fear Lamennais; he did not act from whim or spite. Yet his ends themselves are not above criticism, and they do not necessarily justify the means he used. Moreover, the utter inability of Metternich to conceive of faith, Gospel, and Church as representing even *in potentia* a critique or judgment of the existing order says something about his religion, his politics, and perhaps his character.

University of Illinois

PAUL W. SCHROEDER

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA L'AUSTRIA E IL REGNO DI SARDEGNA. First Series, 1814-1830. Volume I (24 APRILE 1814-17 LUGLIO 1820). Edited by *Narciso Nada*. [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani, 1814-1860. Part 2, Documenti Esteri. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1964. Pp. xiii, 560. L. 4,000.) LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA L'AUSTRIA E IL REGNO DELLE DUE SICILIE. Third Series, 1848-1861. Volume II (22 MAGGIO 1859-19 FEBBRAIO 1861). Edited by *Ruggero Moscati*. [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani, 1814-1860. Part 2, Documenti Esteri. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1964. Pp. xiii, 277. L. 4,000.) These two volumes, which comprise part of the important documents collections now being published by the Italian Historical Institute for the Modern and Contemporary Era, make a valuable contribution to the history of Austro-Sardinian diplomatic relations between 1814 and 1820 and those between the Habsburg and Sardinian governments during the critical period between May 1859 and February 1861. The great majority of the documents in both works, nearly all of them taken from the *Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv* and written in the French language, and all of them reproduced in their entirety, consists of the official correspondence between the Austrian Foreign Ministry and the imperial legations in Turin and Naples, respectively. In the first of the studies there are also documents dealing with the first Paris Peace Conference and the Congress of Vienna and dispatches sent to Vienna from the Habsburg authorities in Milan that give much insight into Sardinian public opinion and government policies. Among other things, the documents in the first volume deal with such matters as the resistance of the Sardinian monarch to Austrian efforts to establish an Italian league, the expansionist dreams of the House of Savoy, the chaos in the Sardinian Army and administration during the years immediately following the restoration, and Victor Emmanuel II's unpopularity, especially in Genoa, and the reasons for this. Those in the second book vividly illustrate the gradual erosion of King Francis II's power. They also show his determination to resist, first of all, constitutional changes and, then, Garibaldi's "volunteers" between May 1859, when he ascended the throne, and the fall of 1860, when his efforts to attack Garibaldi's troops at Santa Maria ended in a miserable failure. Both volumes contain a brief introduction, a useful register of documents, and an index of names.

Rice University

R. JOHN RATH

ONE EUROPE: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF EUROPEAN UNITY. By *René Albrecht-Carrié*. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1965. Pp. xiv, 346. \$5.95.) Mr. Albrecht-Carrié's subtitle may mean many things to many readers. To Albrecht-Carrié, one is tempted to conclude, it means simply the history of Europe from the earliest times to the implementation of the Treaties of Rome. The reader who comes to this book looking for a historical survey of notions of the meaning of "Europe," or of plans and proposals for European unification, will not find it. What he will find, essentially, is a recital of the main outlines of the history of the relations among the various peoples of Europe. Most of the book, in fact, is devoted to an account of the

diplomatic history of Europe from the late eighteenth century to the present day. As diplomatic history it is unexceptionable. But neither is it in any way unusual, or even interestingly written. At one point, rather late in his narrative, the author apologizes for an overly protracted presentation of material that "may seem extraneous to and far removed from a discussion of the unity of Europe." He might well have made this apology earlier, and have taken it more sternly to heart. Despite his claim to be concerned with "The Historical Background of European Unity," he never attempts to come to terms with a question that surely is essential to his inquiry: to what extent is this historical background in fact relevant to our understanding of the specific steps in the direction of sectoral integration that have taken place in Europe since World War II? One might argue, for instance, that previous efforts in the direction of European unification were either so different or so ineffectual as scarcely to be susceptible to meaningful comparison with the fundamental changes brought about by the consequences of the war, particularly the unprecedented utter defeat of Germany, the emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union as "superpowers," and the development of weapons systems with capabilities totally different both in kind and in degree from previous types. Albrecht-Carrié calls the last section of his book "An Idea That Will Not Die." In this section there are some shrewd insights about the present condition of Europe, but I, at least, am disappointed not also to find some attention to the question of whether the European "idea," as it is present in the minds of the current generation of Europeans, is not in fact significantly different from those notions of their predecessors.

Princeton University

RICHARD H. ULLMAN

THE UNITY OF WESTERN EUROPE. Edited by Jack D. Dowell. ([Pullman:] Washington State University Press. 1964. Pp. 57. \$1.00.) Reproduced here are five lectures by American professors of history and political science, delivered at Washington State University in March 1964, on the significance of the unification movement in Western Europe. They constitute a thoughtful and still relevant contribution to an important discussion. For a work of multiple authorship the book contains a general line of argument that is singularly coherent. In a perceptive essay Professor Fred Warner Neal challenges the realism of those who dream of a united Europe and attempt to force European cooperation into narrow molds; he advocates a more flexible approach that does not by-pass the nation-state. To Professor Gordon Wright this suggests the possible viability of a confederal Europe—a *Europe des patries*—based on a sense of national interest. The constructive aspects of French policy are here clearly underlined, and General de Gaulle's concept of a Europe unified from the Atlantic to the Urals begins to take shape as Professor Jan Triska describes the practical allure of the Common Market for the countries of Eastern Europe. Such developments would present obvious difficulties for Anglo-American diplomacy. Professor Leon Epstein skillfully analyzes the complexities of Britain's position, while Professor Norman Graebner suggests that the end of the bipolar world compels the US to reassess its policy toward Europe in terms of attainable goals. Neither author, however, is prepared to chart a clear course for either country. It is, of course, unreasonable to expect the solution of every problem in so brief a compass. As they stand, these essays constitute a cool and provocative appraisal that seeks to view European unity from the perspective of France and Eastern Europe as well as from that of London and Washington. The result is valuable and constructive.

California Institute of Technology

DAVID C. ELLIOT

ESSAYS IN BRITISH HISTORY PRESENTED TO SIR KEITH FEILING. Edited by H. R. Trevor-Roper. With a foreword by Lord David Cecil. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 305. \$7.00.) These essays are offered as a tribute to Sir Keith Feiling

on his eightieth birthday by ten of his colleagues and former pupils. They represent various aspects of his own wide range, since none is wholly unrelated to his career and special concerns. Foreign policy is the only broad area unrepresented. Mr. Myres's reassessment of Wansdyke, Mr. Pantin's examination of the medieval site and antecedents of Christ Church, and Professor Jacob's sketch of a disciple of Archbishop Chichele—these three all suggest personal links with school, college, and university, as well as scholarly interests; while an account of the White Mutiny of 1859 recalls Sir Keith's excursion into the history of India through the life of Warren Hastings. Not surprisingly, however, the central and most substantial section of the book deals with domestic politics and political parties. The longest essay, that by Professor Trevor-Roper on "The Fast Sermons of the Long Parliament," explores in detail the use of the pulpit in political propaganda and the declaration of policy. It justifies and elaborates Clarendon's emphasis on the "trumpets of war," even on occasion against Gardiner and Macray. Mr. Steven Watson's interesting study of Speaker Onslow in relation to the development of party politics rejects even more strongly the interpretation commonly accepted by constitutional historians who credit Onslow with setting the chair above party. Such a view, it now appears, "obscures his real achievement and makes nonsense of the political developments of the century." Onslow's impartiality was more positive and constructive, emphasizing the unity and independence of the House and seeking a consensus, not a balance between parties which in fact did not yet exist. (Misprints on pages 154 and 155 may cause confusion here: Clutterbuck succeeded Onslow as Treasurer, not Speaker; and Granville was Carteret, not "baronet.") The remaining four essays treat different aspects of Conservative politics through studies of "The Imperial Machinery of the Younger Pitt," "The Rise of Disraeli" (an entertaining discussion by Mr. Blake), "Lord Brougham and the Conservatives," and "The Prince Consort and Ministerial Politics, 1856-9." Each contains a due element of reassessment, and each in its own way shows how incomplete was the development of a two-party system before the later years of the nineteenth century. Thus the collection, supplemented by an appropriate bibliography, not only honors a distinguished scholar and teacher, but illustrates the vigorous critical scholarship that is keeping the study of English history very much alive at Oxford.

University of California, Berkeley

G. H. GUTTRIDGE

CARRYING BRITISH MAILS OVERSEAS. By *Howard Robinson*. ([New York:] New York University Press. 1964. Pp. 327. \$7.50.) Professor Robinson has for over a decade been the authority on the history of the British post office. In this new work he combines a history of the carriage of the mails with a short one of British shipping. The latter feature is of value since he provides a useful bibliography with scholarly judgments in his footnotes on the worth of many shipping company histories and, of course, also of postal history. For its dual approach the book should certainly be added to university libraries. Starting with the development of regular communications to aid Henry VIII's diplomacy, the postal service gradually acquired a fleet of packets that sailed on more or less regular schedules, wind and tide allowing. The coming of steam, in which private packets pioneered, forcing the postal authorities to follow suit, made schedule keeping routine. From 1823 to 1860 the Admiralty handled many ocean routes, but thereafter the postal authorities made the contracts, and expensive subsidies for armed merchant cruisers (£180,000 per year for the *Mauretania*) had to be paid in undisguised form. After the largesse of the early days of steam, carrying the mails overseas ceased to be such a lucrative business since the GPO and the Treasury both sought to keep contracts at economic levels, if not below. Robinson treats his subject both chronologically and geographically; thus it is possible to see the growth of both shipping companies and business interests in various parts of the world. The last part of

the book is devoted to the development of airmail. The occasional suspicion from the earlier chapters that the author is not entirely at home with maritime technology is reinforced in the aerial section, where, surprisingly, a number of philatelic works, such as Norman Baldwin's volumes, appear to have been overlooked. There is also the impression at times that sections have been overly compressed, thus making for a jerkiness of style. Nevertheless, these are but minor defects in an otherwise useful work.

Kansas State University

ROBIN HIGHAM

ENGLAND'S EARLIEST PROTESTANTS, 1520-1535. By *William A. Clebsch*. [Yale Publications in Religion, Number 11.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xvi, 358. \$7.50.) While "England's earliest Protestants" did not boast anyone of "the virtuosity comparable to that of Luther, Calvin, or even a Melancthon, Bucer, Cranmer, or Hooker," William Clebsch demonstrates in convincing fashion that John Foxe read history correctly when he pointed to Robert Barnes, John Frith, William Tyndale, George Joy, and Simon Fish as precursors who defined the content of English church reform under Elizabeth. As a group they owed much to Luther, yet they were even more deeply enamored of Erasmus and Christian humanism. Thus they quickly developed stronger affinities with the Swiss than with the Saxon Reformation. The borrowings from the Continent, however, were domesticated with a degree of independence and colored by a lingering Lollard influence that gave a distinctive character to their proposals for restoring spiritual religion and a Biblically regulated church to the English nation. The troublesome issue, of course, was the proper regard to be given the authority of the monarch in ecclesiastical matters. Most of these early Protestants suffered martyrdom because Henry VIII was not yet ready to exercise his authority in a sufficiently Protestant (antipapal) way to enable them to temporize with their consciences. A curious omission in this discussion of "England's earliest Protestants" is the almost total neglect of Thomas Bilney and Hugh Latimer. There is a passing reference to the fact that Barnes was converted by Bilney, and toward the end of the book it is noted that Bilney was the "moving spirit of the Cambridge circle of Lutherans" and that Latimer had replaced him as the leader of the group as early as 1529. Even the absence of literary remains can scarcely justify this imbalance in depicting the early reforming thrust in England.

Colgate Rochester Divinity School

WINTHROP S. HUDSON

SIR THOMAS SMITH: A TUDOR INTELLECTUAL IN OFFICE. By *Mary Dewar*. (London: University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1964. Pp. ix, 222. \$5.60.) Yet another myth of the Tudor past has been laid to rest in this important and delightfully written biography of Sir Thomas Smith. Mary Dewar has divested Sir Thomas of his dull and stereotyped heroic dress and presented him as a rather fussy and tactless academician who succeeded in irritating almost everyone of importance. Smith was always boasting of his "plainness," but in fact he was insensitive and boorish; he prided himself on his thoroughness, but actually his diplomatic reports were tedious compilations of minutiae devoid of any real information; and he pictured himself as a thoughtful moderate in religion, but in truth he was so vehement in his moderation that he antagonized both Catholics and Protestants. It is depressingly clear that Smith lacked the three essentials for success in the Elizabethan world: good luck, good manners, and good judgment. He was, in fact, the perfect example of the brilliant scholar who is a total and tragic failure the moment he steps out of his study. Sir Thomas' character as a man of "stout and constant mind" has been smashed forever, but his reputation as an analyst and scholar has been enhanced. Dewar suggests that works heretofore attributed to Sir Thomas Gresham and John Hales were in fact written by Smith. Unfortunately the full evidence for such a revaluation must wait for a future volume where Sir Thomas will be treated as an author, not a statesman.

Partly because the author has elected to write of the man of affairs, not the scholar and thinker, the image of Smith is strangely sterile. His defects are succinctly and clinically listed, but there seems to be almost no sympathy for or comprehension of his tragedy. The author shows little understanding and less compassion for a poor and sickly Essex lad who dreamed of an English nation planted in Ireland, of copper transmuted into gold, and of learning rewarded with the highest offices in the land. Dewar might have been willing to shed a few academic tears for a fellow scholar who found not gold but only fakery, who lost his son in an ill-executed plan to colonize Ireland, and who, when he finally did reach the office of Principal Secretary, discovered that he was too old, tired, and embittered to enjoy authority or exercise power.

Northwestern University

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH

SIR WALTER MILDMAI AND TUDOR GOVERNMENT. By *Stanford E. Lehmborg*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 335. \$6.50.) All who know their Tudor, particularly Elizabethan, history are acquainted with Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, undertreasurer, and privy councilor during the first three-quarters of that Queen's reign. Now Professor Lehmborg gives us an excellent, full-length, scholarly study of this able, unexciting man who was not quite of the top rank under the crown. The author searches into every nook and cranny of his subject's life and delves into all of Mildmay's activities to display the workings of the Tudor government. Nothing particularly new or startling originates concerning the activities of this government. In fact too much detail and, particularly, too many and too long quotations from Sir Walter's speeches do not add to the readability or value of the book. Even so, the rather dull hero comes clearly into view and will be well remembered by those who read this estimable and beautifully documented biography. Mildmay, it seems, sprang from fifteenth-century yeoman stock and brought his family in the sixteenth century to gentility, wealth, and prominence. Born about 1520, educated for a few years at Cambridge, the young man specialized from the beginning in finance and possibly even studied mathematics at Christ's College. Holder of minor offices in the financial courts and a member of financial commissions during the last years of Henry VIII's reign and also under Edward VI and Mary, Sir Walter, knighted by Edward, knew all about the inner workings of public finance by the accession of Queen Elizabeth. No wonder this good friend of William Cecil and husband of Francis Walsingham's sister was quickly put in charge of the Exchequer by the young Queen and within a few years was admitted to her Privy Council. Finance, anti-Catholicism, and loyalty to his sovereign dominated Mildmay's life from 1559 to his death. He had been a member of Parliament as early as 1545 and was Northamptonshire's knight of the shire in all of Elizabeth's Parliaments until his last in 1589. He was a leader of the Commons in the four Parliaments between 1572 and 1587. And he was a Puritan, but a temperate one. He supported the Queen and the Church of England, which he wanted to improve, in most religious controversies. Only in 1585, possibly because of his strong anti-Catholic feelings, did he side with the radical Puritans. To be sure, he had just founded a Puritan college, Emmanuel, at Cambridge, but like its founder it was mildly Puritan and in no way Presbyterian. Mildmay was an ideal servant of the crown who at the same time amassed, with complete honesty, it seems, much landed wealth. When he died in 1589, Lehmborg tells us, he was worth at least twenty thousand pounds. Mildmay was not an exciting man, but he was extremely capable in his chosen field. This well-written book makes clear "his conscientious attention to the minutiae of financial administration, his skill in parliamentary manipulation, his concern for pure religion and good learning. . . ." Such men helped to make the reign of Queen Elizabeth great; the Queen gave it glory.

New York University

HAROLD HULME

CALENDAR OF THE PATENT ROLLS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. ELIZABETH I. Volume IV, 1566-1569. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1964. Pp. iv, 608. \$32.00.) The first volume of the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* was published in 1891. Since then the volumes have been issued with varying degrees of regularity: more than fifty volumes before the First World War, thirteen volumes from 1916 through 1939, and only three volumes since 1939. At this rate, unless the process of publication is accelerated, it will take decades before even the current series, the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, is completed. During the same period the price of each volume has risen sharply. As for the present volume, there is little that can be written by way of review. The Patent Rolls contain a great variety of entries, mostly representing the routine business of the government: grants and leases of crown lands, commissions, appointments to offices, creations of nobility, pardons, denizations, and licenses of all sorts—to acquire lands, to alienate lands, to export grains and other articles, to pass beyond the seas and also to remain beyond the seas, to collect alms, even one license to keep a tennis court at Oxford. Some of the most interesting entries are the pardons, granted for a great variety of offenses and ranging in seriousness from treason, rape, murder, burglary, and piracy to “conjurations of evil spirits” and hearing private Mass. One of the most interesting pardons was that granted in 1567 to John Prestall of Wotton, County Surrey, “for all treasons, all crimes of lese majesty, all rebellions, insurrections and conspiracies against the Crown, all murders, felonies and robberies, all misprisions, unlawful speeches, unlawful assemblies, riots, routs and trespasses, all conjurations of evil spirits, departures from the realm, contempts, negligences, ignorances, falsehoods and deceptions and all other offences committed before the present time.” Prestall apparently committed all of these offenses while participating in a plot against Queen Elizabeth, and the fact that he and two fellow conspirators received pardons illustrates some of the leniency that characterized Elizabethan rule.

Temple University

ROBERT C. JOHNSON

LIST AND ANALYSIS OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, ELIZABETH I, PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Volume I, AUGUST 1589-JUNE 1590. Edited by *Richard Bruce Wernham*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1964. Pp. viii, 562. \$30.00.) This volume, the latest in the project calendaring the State Papers Foreign of Elizabeth, is a bold new departure in the presentation in print of the public records. Edited by Professor R. B. Wernham of Oxford, who also edited the last two volumes of the older series, the *List and Analysis* breaks with the traditional Public Record Office calendar form by merely listing the manuscripts in the first section and providing a résumé of their contents in a consolidated summary in a second section, the “analysis.” This arrangement permits the same density of treatment as the older calendar form in one-half the space, no small consideration since this volume is more than triple the price of the last volume of the calendar, published in 1950. The analysis is arranged geographically, subdivided chronologically by events and topics. It is a brilliant condensation of often verbose sources, providing an exceptionally clear narrative of English foreign relations to the extent of the material sources. Wernham is too modest in describing his venture as a development of the Dutch “Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatien” series of resolutions of the States-General; in fact his sources have not as readily lent themselves to this kind of treatment, and his redactorial effort in the analysis is extraordinary in its conciseness, comprehensiveness, and crispness of prose. Quite aside from saving space, reducing cost, and providing a consistent narrative, the new arrangement will encourage recourse to the manuscripts. The dispersal of the contents of each document in the analysis (though all parts can be retrieved by reference to the list) reduces the researcher’s

tendency to rely solely upon the printed calendar in which a single document is condensed in its entirety and by its singularness given an integrity such as the editor himself would be the first to disclaim. The principal interest of the papers for the eleven months comprised in this volume is threefold: the sudden emergence of strife-torn France as a major theater of English military as well as diplomatic operations with the death of Henry III in July 1589 and Elizabeth's overt support of Henry of Navarre; the continuing English commitment to Dutch independence though now faced with the prickly oligarchic sovereignty of the States-General dominated by Oldenbarnevelt; and the heightened English interest in the Protestant princes of Germany. The papers also reveal the massive burden of diplomacy still borne by Walsingham during the last eight months of his life; despite ill-health, the old master showed no signs of flagging, and 372 of the 1,200 plus papers listed were dispatches addressed to him or instructions from him. It is perhaps churlish to complain that the erroneous misheading ("The United Provinces" for "France") of almost one hundred pages was not corrected for publication, but only noted as a corrigendum; for thirty dollars, however, one expects near perfection.

University of California, Berkeley

THOMAS G. BARNES

IMAGES OF A QUEEN: MARY STUART IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE. By *James Emerson Phillips*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1964. Pp. vi, 336. \$6.95.) Few figures in all British historiography have enjoyed such continuously flourishing controversy as Mary, Queen of Scots. Every generation returns anew to the argument over her career; her defenders and detractors never weary of polemic for or against her reputation. The literary and historical tempest began in her own lifetime. Its end is not yet in sight. What caused it all? A part of the answer to this question is given in this well-written, thoughtful study of the image of Mary created while she lived and during the years immediately following her death. As Professor Phillips suggests, she was more than just a tragic woman whose dramatic exit was to touch imagination for centuries to come. History is filled with figures at once tragic and dramatic. She was a more complex person whose links to religious faction and whose significance in the dynastic politics of the sixteenth century gave her an importance she was unable to cope with either intellectually or morally. Born to one crown, married to another, and always tempted by a third, she remained, at least formally, a Roman Catholic throughout her life. But more, she was the mother of a sovereign whose Protestant upbringing later made it possible for him to claim an English throne that Mary herself never had any but the remotest hope of possessing. These elements by themselves would have created a complex enough personality had not the tortured personal desires of a permanent psychological immaturity made matters worse. Mary was thus bound to arouse feeling, and it was the diversity of this feeling as reflected in sixteenth-century writing about her that Phillips has so meticulously sampled in this book. There was not, he points out, any single view of her common to all her enemies or supporters. She was something different to Scotsmen, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Catholic and Protestant alike, depending not only upon individual loyalties but upon the shifting circumstances of her troubled life. What was perhaps strangest about her reputation was the fact that her son's apparent heirship and later accession to the English throne made it impossible for English or Scottish writers to treat her with contempt even in face of violent Catholic polemic in her behalf immediately after her execution. Thus her scholarly rehabilitation in English-speaking historiography began almost the instant the headsman's axe had done its work. As a study in the formulation of historical and literary legend, this is a significant scholarly contribution, clearly written and based upon extensive research. Its single oversight in delineating the sixteenth-century Marian image lies in its omission of any reference to that continuing

denigration of Mary's reputation which uniformly characterized Scottish Presbyterian historical scholarship from the days of John Knox into the twentieth century.

Barnard College

SIDNEY A. BURRELL

CONFLICT AND COMPROMISE: HISTORY OF BRITISH POLITICAL THOUGHT, 1593-1900. By *Wilfrid Harrison*. [History of Western Political Thought.] (New York: Free Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 269. \$5.95.) It is merely description, and not intended as denigration, to say that there is nothing very remarkable about this book, and, to me, nothing very remarkable to say about it. Though its length might suggest otherwise, it is not an extended interpretive essay. In the fashion of many histories of political thought, it discusses as individuals the major thinkers of its period as well as some minor ones, though grouping them by centuries and then within each century by classifications, such as conservatives or radicals or evolutionists. A brief introduction to each chapter and a chapter for each of the three centuries are included in the book. Obviously, the introductions and the discussions of the individuals must be brief: some thinkers rate a few sentences; Hobbes receives twelve pages, Harrington ten, Burke seven, and, curiously, James Burgh as many as three. The reader is bound to ask about the consequences of such brevity. An initiate is likely to say that he has merely refreshed his memory; a novice might say that the sententious discussions hardly produce understanding. Professor Harrison agrees with this last judgment. He hopes that his book will encourage students to read the texts, and then he warns that even after reading and rereading them "we have a long way to go before we can claim to know our authors." But the book has uses. It strongly impresses upon the reader the necessity for knowing British political, social, and economic history if he is to understand British political thought. Because Harrison intends to give this impression, it is too bad that he is not more concerned with historical accuracy. It does make a difference to understanding when the Septennial Act of 1716 is antedated by two years, or each part of Paine's *Rights of Man* is dated a year too early, or when Peter Laslett's and Maurice Cranston's accounts of the background of Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* are ignored. The book, and particularly the chapter on the nineteenth century, helps the student to learn something about the trends of British political thought. Emphases and interests changed because new problems appeared. This is characteristic of a body of political thought so little metaphysical and so much "sensible" and empirical. And so, the author judges, there is still in England something that can be called political thought. It is concerned more with functions than with forms of government and displays acute "analysis" rather than deep emotional involvement. It continues to contribute to the improvement of "political understanding."

University of Kentucky

CARL B. CONE

THE ENGLISH MINISTERS AND SCOTLAND, 1707-1727. By *P.W.J. Riley*. [University of London Historical Studies, Number 15.] (London: University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1964. Pp. xiii, 326. \$8.00.) The core of this work is an account of the union of 1707 and of the final years of Godolphin's ministry. More than half the text is devoted to an extremely thorough analysis of the years 1707-1710. The four last years of the Queen receive another hundred pages, while a final chapter gives a brief and disappointing sketch not only of the reign of George I but of most of that of his son. In part this curious distribution of space may reflect a real truth: that Scotland was not very important after the death of Anne. Once the Hanoverians reached the throne North Britain became little more than another Cornwall, producing many votes in Parliament but little else of value. This was certainly the opinion of the politicians. Even William III, who suggested the union in 1699 and again just before his death in 1702, thought in terms of increasing

the number of his supporters in Parliament rather than about any of the other benefits of such an arrangement. Yet one may wonder whether Mr. Riley's book would have been even better than it is with a terminal date of 1747, when the heritable jurisdictions were abolished, and if more or indeed any systematic attention had been given to the administration of Scotland after 1714. The most interesting chapters are on the establishment of the new administration by Godolphin. Treasury control was apparently never questioned from the first and was exercised through the subordinate revenue boards. There is much material on the Scottish Customs Board and rather less on the Scottish Excise Commission. The suppression of the Privy Council seems to have been a pity, while the governments of the day were never able to make up their minds about the Scottish Secretary's place. Although the post fell in automatically with the suppression of the Council, it was revived again and again in other forms throughout the period following the union. Riley is treading very familiar ground indeed when he gets away from administration and into politics. Here he relies heavily on the well-known works of Keith Feiling, Basil Williams, and J. H. Plumb, which should be read for themselves. He is to be commended for the thoroughness of his research and for a most readable prose style. Yet what is new in Riley's work would have gone comfortably into three or four articles. Those who are likely to read the book do not need another summary of the English political history of that generation.

University of North Carolina

STEPHEN B. BAXTER

EIN EUROPÄISCHER DIPLOMAT AM KAISERHOF ZU WIEN: FRANÇOIS LOUIS DE PESME, SEIGNEUR DE SAINT-SAPHORIN, ALS ENGLISCHER RESIDENT AM WIENER HOF, 1718-1727. By *Theo Gehling*. [Bonner historische Forschungen, Number 25.] (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag. 1964. Pp. 291. DM 32.) Few lives illustrate more fully the cosmopolitan nature of eighteenth-century European diplomacy than that of François Louis de Pesme, seigneur de Saint-Saphorin. Deprived by his Swiss birth of any great opportunity for glorious employments at home, he became, after minor posts in Brunswick-Lüneburg and Hesse-Cassel, successively an officer in the Austrian Danubian fleet, imperial representative in Switzerland, and through George I's French Huguenot secretary Robethon, English resident at the court of Vienna. From both Bern and Vienna he wrote voluminous reports to his superiors. The Bern reports contributed extensively to Sven Stelling-Michaud's *Saint-Saphorin et la politique de la Suisse pendant la guerre de succession d'Espagne*; those from Vienna form the basis of this thorough and painstaking study by Theo Gehling. As a source for the diplomacy and intrigues at the court of Charles VI, Saint-Saphorin's accounts have been widely used as far back as Arneth's biography of Prince Eugene of Savoy (1858) and were among the underlying documents for Coxe's *House of Austria* (1847). In this study, however, the diplomat is actor as well as observer. Much of the book, inevitably, is devoted to a retelling of the intricate maneuvers that occupied the European powers after the Treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt, and Baden, and that Saint-Saphorin's own activities did little to simplify. His career as British representative began auspiciously enough in 1718, when, through the accession of George I and the return of the Whigs to power, the Grand Alliance of the days of the War of the Spanish Succession had been revived. It ended with his expulsion from Vienna nine years later, after the failure of the Congress of Cambrai, Austria's alliance with Spain, and the Treaty of Hanover had brought Britain and Austria to the brink of war. Although the author concludes that Saint-Saphorin believed in the principles of the Grand Alliance throughout, his narrative for the years 1725-1727 seems to show that Saint-Saphorin and the Secretary of State for the Northern Department, Townshend, reinforced each other's bellicosity. War was ultimately averted by Sir Robert Walpole who disliked the expense. Although there is little discussion of what motivated the British policies for

which Saint-Saphorin was a spokesman, this volume provides fascinating insights into the life of a working diplomat in an age when diplomacy was in full flower.

Hunter College

EDITH M. LINK

DR. JOHNSON'S PRINTER: THE LIFE OF WILLIAM STRAHAN. By J. A. Cochrane. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 225. \$6.00.) William Strahan (1715-1785) was one of the great London printers, a master of his craft whose steady application and shrewd business ability were proven by his coach-and-four, his patent as King's Printer, his seat in Commons (1774-1784), and the fortune of £95,000 he left to his heirs who maintained a dynastic tradition through the printing houses of Eyre and Spottiswoode. It seems less than just to identify such a solid citizen as "Dr. Johnson's Printer," yet such is the fame of authors and the modesty of those who give them life that Strahan probably would have approved the title of Cochrane's excellent biography. The Johnson connection began with the *Dictionary* (1750) and extended to George Strahan's publication of the *Prayers and Meditations* (1785). Johnson was family friend to the Strahans, and the printer was even Johnson's banker upon occasion. The great lexicographer must share place with others, however. In 1776 Strahan's presses brought forth Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, and he was charged with the posthumous publication of David Hume's *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, having earlier printed the *History of Great Britain*. (Cautious Strahan declined this final honor.) To these must be added Robertson, Smollett, Young, and Ben Franklin, friend and fellow printer, linked to Strahan across the Atlantic through David Hall, and only temporarily estranged by the American Revolution. Cochrane, himself a bookman, treats Strahan's literary connections with assurance and efficiency and diligently pursues many scattered sources; Strahan's biography is as well written as it is well deserved. Only in his summary discussion of Strahan's politics (in which he acknowledges Namier's assistance) does Cochrane fail to satisfy. Namier might dismiss him as merely another back bench ministerialist, but Strahan's views are not the less interesting evidence of public opinion for his silence in parliamentary debate.

University of Virginia

ROBERT R. REA

BYRON'S JOURNAL OF HIS CIRCUMNAVIGATION, 1764-1766. By Robert E. Gallagher. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Number 122.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1964. Pp. lxxxii, 230. \$7.50.) The voyage of Commodore John Byron was the first of the series of late eighteenth-century English voyages of discovery culminating in the achievements of Captain Cook. The official account of his voyage was edited by John Hawkesworth and published in 1773, but this is the first time the journal has appeared in print as Byron wrote it. It is preceded by a long, able introduction and followed by an appendix of related documents and an essay on the attractive legend of "The Patagonian Giants" by Helen Wallis. Byron, a career officer of thirty-three years service, sailed from the Downs on June 21, 1764, in command of the ships *Dolphin* and *Tamar*. He arrived back in England in May 1766, a little over twenty-two months later. Byron's reputation as an explorer has not stood up well with historians. He has been accused of not following instructions and of being so anxious to get home that he set a record for sailing around the world not equaled again for about two hundred years. Gallagher reappraises Byron's achievements and comes to a much more sympathetic verdict. Admiralty instructions ordered him to explore the South Atlantic, which he did to the extent of fixing the position of the Falkland Islands. He made no attempt at seeking the western end of a Northwest Passage in the vicinity of Sir Francis Drake's New Albion, but instead headed across the Pacific with the gleam of Mendeña's golden Solomon Islands before his eyes. This,

the rediscovery of the Solomon Islands, was, Gallagher believes, the driving ambition of Byron and the reason he cut short or ignored his other instructions. In any case Byron's voyage was not considered a failure in his own time, and his advice was an important contribution to the planning that went into Wallis' voyage. Without Byron, the Wallis voyage and hence Cook's might not have been undertaken. Gallagher's final judgment observes: "The real significance of his voyage lay not in the discoveries made but in the fact that it was the first step in the eventual discovery of a great territory and potential market for English products in the Pacific, and the Admiralty recognized this."

Peabody Museum of Salem

ERNEST S. DODGE

JOHN CONSTABLE'S CORRESPONDENCE. Volume II, EARLY FRIENDS AND MARIA BICKNELL (MRS. CONSTABLE). Edited, with an introduction and notes, by R. B. Beckett. [Suffolk Records Society, Volume VI.] ([Ipswich:] the Society. 1964. Pp. vii, 474. 30s.) It is one of the conventions of the newspaper business that every action or utterance, however trivial, of persons of a certain undefined degree of prominence is arbitrarily labeled "news" and published. A similar quaint folkway prevails widely about well-known figures of the past. This uncritical view, combined with local pride in a native son of Suffolk, must explain the appearance of this volume of the correspondence of John Constable (1776-1837), the English painter. The editing, the filling in of gaps in chronology and providing continuity, particularly from the Farington Diary, and the explaining of references and allusions have all been done with care and erudition. But the over-all results are disappointing because the letters themselves tell us so little of significance that is not in the standard biographies. Constable's life was singularly uneventful. Nor do we learn very much about the one really important thing in his life: his painting. It is even doubtful that the mention of visits to various places to execute certain commissions has much value in establishing the provenance of the pictures. In any case, most of the correspondence has long been known, and a considerable part of it was used by Lord Windsor in writing his life of the artist (1903). Constable is an important figure in the history of landscape painting. Not only was he an effective painter, but he is credited with having inspired others, particularly the Barbizon group, to go out into the sunshine and fresh air to paint. This makes him a spiritual progenitor of the impressionists and their descendants. But since he was not articulate about his painting or given to theorizing, no suggestion of this brave innovation comes through the welter of family gossip, distress about frustrated love and relatives' illnesses, financial worry, and casual chitchat that makes up the letters.

University of Virginia

J. D. FORBES

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY AND INDIAN AFFAIRS, 1783-1815. By G. S. Misra. (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1963. Pp. viii, 110. \$5.00.) The theme of this book, briefly stated, is that from the end of the American Revolution in 1783 to the final eclipse of the Napoleonic imperium thirty years later, events in Europe molded British policy in India because of the persistent interaction of the former upon the affairs of the Asiatic subcontinent. Unlike earlier times when Britain's attitude toward Europe was primarily regulated by its concern for the balance of power, a new factor in international politics—the maintenance of British supremacy in the East—now became the chief preoccupation of British statecraft. This thesis, one few scholars are henceforth likely to challenge, is developed in eight brief chapters distilled for the most part from East India Company manuscript records in the India Office Library at London. Professor Misra deserves high praise for the brilliance and lucidity that distinguish his account of Britain's tactical maneuvers to sustain its Indian ascendancy against the menace of French expansionism throughout

this stormy era. In the process he has done much to dispel the obscurity, confusion, and inaccuracy bequeathed by older historians with respect to British policy toward Persia, or the various "country powers" such as Tipu Sultan and the Marathas, or the Dutch in Ceylon. On the other hand, since he perceives, in each and every event his book depicts, the hostile, if sometimes shadowy, machinations of France, one wonders why his research failed to include relevant French archival material. Furthermore, while he rightly stresses Britain's overriding determination to perpetuate its paramount position in India, he neglects to explain the basic economic motivation thereof. For the simple truth was that Britain's new, expansive industrial technology, a phenomenon of the late eighteenth century, enormously enhanced India's value as a market for the textiles of Manchester. Indeed, but for the Industrial Revolution it is altogether improbable that the East India Company's declining fortunes would have been reversed or the Eastern seas transformed into a British lake.

College of William and Mary

BRUCE T. McCULLY

BRITISH RELATIONS WITH HYDERABAD (1798-1843). By *Nani Gopal Chaudhuri*. ([Calcutta:] University of Calcutta. 1964. Pp. viii, 328. Rs. 10.) The final chapter in the history of Hyderabad as a subsidiary state was chronicled in the Indian White Paper of 1948. With the added advantage of perspective and scholarly objectivity, the author has given us here a discussion of the beginning chapters, from Wellesley's treaty of 1798 to the fall, in 1843, of Chandu Lal, Hyderabad's gray eminence. The alliance was an advantage to the East India Company in that it undermined French influence and strengthened the British position in the Deccan. But, Dr. Chaudhuri asks, what was the effect of the British connection on Hyderabad? To answer this question he has canvassed Persian, Marathi, and English sources. The English documents, particularly the Palmer and Russell Papers in the Bodleian Library, have proved most fruitful. To begin with, the author points out that British protection allowed the Nizam to prevent the Marathas from annexing Hyderabad. The assassination of rulers and the murder of ministers ceased. But these benefits were dearly bought, for the system of vesting power in ministers like Chandu Lal supported by the Resident introduced a kind of dual government that made it possible for the Nizam and the minister to avoid responsibility. Under British tutelage the Nizam's government abandoned the public welfare, and extortion and rapacity in tax collection increased. The Nizam could defy his subjects with impunity since he could count on British aid to suppress revolt. Metcalfe's attempt at reform was undertaken in the spirit of justice, but it proved to be technically faulty and did not work. The most injurious effect of the subsidiary alliance, however, was that it charged Hyderabad with military expenditure out of proportion to the revenues of the state. Thus the Nizam, constantly operating on a deficit budget, as it were, was obliged to borrow. Palmer and Company was organized to exploit this situation. Chandu Lal obliged the Palmer Company by allowing it to advance funds to Hyderabad at interest as high as 24 per cent. Official wheels were greased by William Rumbold, a partner in the firm, who was married to Lord Hastings' ward, and in a position to persuade the governor-general to support the firm's transactions. When the situation finally came out in the open, the house of Palmer and Company went into bankruptcy, although considerable assets mysteriously disappeared. The history of "indirect rule," of course, has implications that reach further than the Indian subcontinent, and despite some awkwardness of style, the author has contributed a useful monograph to the literature on this subject. Unfortunately the printing and binding are not of the same high quality as the scholarship.

Los Angeles Valley College

MARK NAIDIS

BRITAIN AND INDIA: REQUIEM FOR EMPIRE. By *Maurice and Taya Zinkin*. [Britain in the World Today.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1964. Pp. 191. \$5.00.) This is a study of Britain's reactions to the acquisition and loss of its Indian Empire. Based primarily on the Zinkins' protracted Indian experience, before as well as after independence, and on interviews with numerous "Old India hands," it is more of a memoir than a history, yet, as the former, offers some valuable subjective insights. The focus throughout is on Britain: what India's conquest meant to British foreign and military policy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; how Indian trade affected British commerce and industry; the ways in which Indian independence has changed Britain's role in the modern world, especially with respect to Asian bases and the European alliance. The first half of the book is much weaker than the second, since the authors attempt inadequately to present a historical survey of British rule. Their view of Britain's government of India is a grossly distorted idealistic one of an administration of "great competence," within which "lines of command were clear," and "men were judged on the work they did and their determination to fight for the interests of those they governed." Uncritically adopting the official civil service position, the Zinkins insist that thanks to such British dedication "reform was thoroughgoing," except when Whitehall's India Office disputed the judgment of omniscient men on the spot for "petti-fogging rather than useful" reasons. Similar bias is reflected in the appraisal of Anglo-Indian economic relations, though there is some truth in the conclusion that "The British sin in India was not exploitation. It was failure to exploit." The most valuable chapter is "The Weakening of the Links," in which the changing role of British business interests in India since 1947 is analyzed with shrewd insight and the ring of personal authority. While several areas of "Community of Outlook" (Chapter xiv) continue to bind India to Britain, the trend since 1947 has been in the opposite direction, and the authors conclude: "It is likely that Great Britain will over the years draw nearer to Europe, and India to the United States."

University of California, Los Angeles

STANLEY A. WOLPERT

SHAFTESBURY. By *G. F. A. Best*. (New York: Arco Publishing Company. 1964. Pp. 139. \$3.95.) In 1886 Edwin Hodder published *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, three volumes of extracts from Shaftesbury's diaries interwoven with copious and pious praise of his greatness and goodness. In 1923 John and Barbara Hammond in *Lord Shaftesbury* admitted much of this greatness and goodness, but also saw the narrow, egotistical evangelical who abandoned, after 1847, the battle for legislative reforms, opposed state education, and retired to "the pious and dutiful twilight of the Ragged School." In 1926 J. W. Bready condemned that picture as the misconceptions of two rationalists and socialists. Bready presented instead, in *Lord Shaftesbury and Social and Industrial Progress*, an effusive and glowing portrait of Shaftesbury as a "co-labourer with God" and "a practical saint." Hodder's piety, the Hammonds' acerbity, and Bready's effusiveness lighted up some of the features of England's greatest social reformer, but distorted others and left much still obscure. G. F. A. Best clears up some of those distortions and obscurities. With a more detached and balanced point of view he sees some of the Hammonds' narrow evangelical and some of Bready's practical saint, but qualifies them both. The narrow evangelical did not abandon legislative fights for reform, and the practical saint did have some wars. "God's co-labourer" was indeed enormously complicated. Born of parents who gave him no love, touched deeply when a child by the death of the devout nurse who taught him prayers, badly treated at a wretched boarding school, then favored with Harrow and Oxford, Shaftesbury entered political life a sensitive, ardent, lonely, and deeply religious young man. But he was not yet, Best argues, against the views both of the Hammonds and Bready, a full-fledged evangelical. Only marriage at twenty-nine made

him that. From that point his career ran in two directions, one to parliamentary and administrative efforts to protect the insane, the children in factories and mines, chimney sweeps, and all who endured unsanitary towns, and the other to philanthropic efforts to save souls and teach little children of Christ's mercies. In that career he exemplified the virtues and defects of a strong and complex nature. He could be, and usually was, singularly energetic, compassionate, selfless, persevering, and courageous in battling for social reform and in giving of himself in philanthropy. But he was also, at times, impetuous, unfair to others, uncritical in his charities, suspicious, self-pitying, self-satisfied, and vain. Best views these defects more sympathetically than do the Hammonds since he sees them as part of a more complicated nature. But for all his balance and good sense, and for all the new information he discloses, Best has not written a definitive, or even a complete, life of Shaftesbury. It is simply too brief. It leaves too much untouched, which is a pity, since, except on the Mining Act of 1842 (on which he is quite in error) Best is sound, intelligent, and perceptive. But because of his brevity the great figure of Shaftesbury is still not fully developed.

Dartmouth College

DAVID ROBERTS

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by *Sir James Butler*. VICTORY IN THE WEST. Volume I, THE BATTLE OF NORMANDY. By *L. F. Ellis*, with *G. R. G. Allen et al.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1962. Pp. xix, 595. \$12.60 postpaid.) Critically as well as factually, *The Battle of Normandy* by Major L. F. Ellis, first of two projected volumes to cover British Army operations in Northwest Europe in World War II, is official history. That is not meant unkindly. Official history when carefully compiled as history and not as an exercise in chauvinism has its clear virtues corresponding in part to its better-recognized limitations. Its greatest virtue, of course, is that it *is* official. Based on government document holdings to which the author ordinarily in these days has unrestricted access (though in the irritating British tradition he cites none), it represents that reading of events on which officialdom (the British War Office in this case) is prepared to stand and be judged. If that is not quite the whole story nor quite the most interesting one, it is here the solid, indispensable, factual core. Ellis establishes that core firmly in a lecture hall style with no concern for the imponderables of personality or the idiosyncracies that make history so fascinating and so difficult. In the editorial scheme of the British official history (about two-thirds of its projected thirty-two volumes have now been published) operations are treated separately by service with such overlapping references as may be necessary to comprehension of the total battle. So-called "grand strategy" has also been separated out for treatment in a series of six volumes. John Ehrman's book considering in global context the strategy affecting the cross-channel invasion has long been available. Ellis therefore eschews strategy almost entirely. His long prologue to the landings, for instance, is all at the level of tactical planning—the details of what was to be done with little of the grand reasons for choosing to do it. The scheme is reasonable, but, as the reader finds, facts thereby concentrated and separated from the scheme of ideas that gave them meaning are hard to digest. This compounds the normal difficulty of military history in which so much necessary detail in any setting resists the most skillful efforts at literary resurrection. From the landings on June 6, 1944, Ellis recounts in full detail the British ground operations in Normandy and in the sweep across France until about September 1 when Eisenhower's armies literally ran out of gas. Since most of this material has already been worked over many times in memoirs and other national histories, there are no discoveries or surprises. The author is judicious in his interpretations, taking something like a middle ground in the famous controversy over whether General Montgomery dawdled at Caen or set a sticky trap for German tanks there.

(He thinks that in general Montgomery did what he meant to do, but might have done it rather more expeditiously.) The value of the volume is quite simply that here it all is—the British story in full detail, less, of course, those critical and personal ingredients that are inappropriate to official history.

New York, New York

GORDON HARRISON

WILD GEESE IN SPANISH FLANDERS, 1582–1700: DOCUMENTS, RELATING CHIEFLY TO IRISH REGIMENTS, FROM THE ARCHIVES GÉNÉRALES DU ROYAUME, BRUSSELS, AND OTHER SOURCES. Edited by *Brendan Jennings*. [Coimisiún Láimhscríbhinní na hÉireann.] (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Coimisiún. 1964. Pp. ix, 705. £3 15s.) During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Irish exiles earned reputations as excellent soldiers while fighting as mercenaries in the armies of European powers. In 1585 Elizabeth I decided to aid the Dutch in their struggle for independence, and the next year Colonel William Stanley, with a regiment recruited in Ireland, arrived in Holland to fight the Spaniards. But in January 1587 Stanley and most of his men switched sides, and from that time until late in the seventeenth century Wild Geese were active in the Low Countries fighting the Dutch and then the French. Since Irish Catholics were persecuted, deprived of civil and political rights, and denied economic opportunities in their own country, they were attracted by the prospects of foreign military service. English leaders were pleased to see so many potential troublemakers go into exile, but a large number of these exiles viewed military experience in the armies of England's traditional enemies as preparation for the future liberation of Ireland. In 1641 Parliament obstructed the recruiting of Irish soldiers by Spain as dangerous to English interests. During the rebellion that broke out in Ireland in late 1641, Owen Roe O'Neill and Thomas Preston did return from Flanders, but circumstances prevented all but a few of the Wild Geese from coming to the aid of their country. After Cromwell's army subdued the revolt in 1652 the English permitted over thirty thousand Irish soldiers to enter the military service of continental governments. Many of the new exiles joined the Spanish forces in the Low Countries. Jennings has used documents from the Brussels archives supplemented by material from British and Irish archives to present the complicated political, diplomatic, religious, and economic background of Ireland's military contribution to Spain in the Low Countries. The detail of the documents will discourage many readers, but the diligent and thorough research demonstrated in this volume makes it a valuable reference for all scholars interested in the subject.

Marquette University

LAWRENCE J. McCaffrey

THE IRISH ADMINISTRATION, 1801–1914. By *R. B. McDowell*. [Studies in Irish History, Second Series, Volume II.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 328. \$8.25.) Viewed in broad perspective, the significance of this book lies in its careful demonstration that Ireland, one of Britain's first "colonies" to achieve independence in the twentieth century, was well prepared to assume the responsibilities of self-government. The nineteenth century saw the creation of the modern civil service and a rationally planned administrative system. McDowell makes clear that Ireland benefited fully as much as Britain from this dual development. It is this fact that makes Ireland's administrative transition to political independence seem so incredibly smooth to an observer in the 1960's. There are paradoxes in this history. The biggest is that despite general allegiance to principles of laissez faire, the Irish civil administration grew from twenty-two departments in 1801 to forty in 1914, as practical needs compelled greater governmental attention. Civil servants were recruited from among the upper or middle classes, and the evidence indicates that by and large they were a conscientious group. Wages were sufficiently high that graft, which was so conspicuous in the Russian

bureaucracy, was almost totally absent in the Irish system. (The word does not even appear in the index.) After 1871 civil service positions were normally filled by open competitive examinations. There seems to have been little discrimination against Irishmen. Even at the highest levels (that is, department heads and their immediate subordinates), McDowell points out that nearly 80 per cent of the positions were filled by men of Irish origin, divided almost equally between Protestants and Catholics. What is wanting in this otherwise excellent study is a general summing up or conclusion, an over-all evaluation by the author of the efficiency and quality of the Irish administration. As it stands, the book is a comprehensive guide to the duties, organization, and development of the government departments that operated in Ireland between 1801 and 1914. It is based on an exhaustive analysis of private and public manuscript sources and parliamentary papers, and it is unlikely that such a study will ever have to be done again.

University of Cincinnati

ARNOLD SCHRIER

CHURCHILL AND IRELAND. By *Mary C. Bromage*. ([Notre Dame, Ind.:] University of Notre Dame Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 222. \$5.00.) The results of this bold attempt to trace in brief compass the history of Anglo-Irish relations in this century as one of the threads in Churchill's complicated career are interesting though not altogether convincing. Particularly for the period to 1922, the approach is too uncritical. Depending heavily on Churchill's own writings and speeches—he is, as the author notes, his own historian—it overstates both his influence and his purity of motive. Moreover, the central thesis—that Churchill's attitude and policy with regard to Ireland were governed by what he deemed good for "the island of England"—is naïve and ambiguous. It underrates how much the Irish question was played for mere political advantage by Liberals as well as Tories, and since "good" for England turns out to mean essentially the safety and security of England, it minimizes Churchill's addiction to defending imperial ties for their own sake. He was after all the most prominent and undeviating champion of empire and the archcritic of real independence for India. The author, who has written a biography entitled *De Valera and the March of a Nation* (1956), is more conversant with Irish than with British politics. This is apparent in her one-sided treatment of the Ulster crisis of 1914. One need hardly condone the near treasonous activities of leading Tories around the time of the Curragh "mutiny," but the Tory suspicion that Churchill was contemplating some form of coercion in Ulster needs to be confronted. Barring new evidence, it remains a legitimate suspicion. Churchill's orders to the Third Squadron Fleet to steam to Lamlash, the absence of written instructions to General Paget, the evasiveness of the Liberal replies during the ensuing debate in Parliament—all would indicate the existence of some kind of "plot." The author could have consulted profitably the relevant passages in Robert Blake's *Unrepentant Tory: The Life and Times of Andrew Bonar Law* (1956). In 1922, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, Churchill was more deeply involved in Irish affairs than at any other time, working with the Irish signers, especially Michael Collins, to put the 1921 treaty into operation. Thereafter throughout the civil war and throughout the years of De Valera's predominance in Dublin, Churchill's views on Ireland remained rooted in this treaty which may be said to have provided dominion status with partition and with several strings attached. As these strings were cut away one by one while Churchill was out of office, his vigorous dissents included an abortive effort to have written into the Statute of Westminster of 1931 a special limitation regarding Ireland. This study ends with an account of Anglo-Irish relations during World War II. Following De Valera's proclamation of neutrality, Churchill resisted the temptation to seize the Irish ports whose return to Ireland by Chamberlain in 1938 was to prove for a time a heavy burden to England in its fight against the German U-boats. Here the author makes good use

of German foreign policy documents. She shows how Churchill tried to outmaneuver De Valera, pressing sometimes directly, sometimes through Roosevelt as an intermediary, for some concession. At one point he held out the possibility, though no outright offer, of the end of partition if only Ireland would join the struggle. This fascinating and careful portrayal of the wartime Churchill is the most original and convincing chapter of Mrs. Bromage's book.

Ohio State University

PHILIP P. POIRIER

L'ASSASSINAT D'HENRI IV, 14 MAI 1610. By *Roland Mousnier*. [Trente journées qui ont fait la France, Number 13.] ([Paris:] Gallimard. 1964. Pp. 410. 25 fr.) Although this volume appears in a series dedicated to the proposition that discrete events are important in history, it does not present the sustained narrative of events that one finds in certain other volumes in the series. Only the first few pages actually describe the assassination of Henry IV by Ravallac on May 14, 1610. Most of the book is a wide-ranging and nicely organized analysis of the climate of opinion and the state of society that made this and other political assassinations possible in the France of the Counter Reformation. A concluding section analyzes some of the ways in which this particular act of violence paradoxically strengthened the French monarchy. More than seventy pages of appendixes document parts of the argument. Professor Mousnier himself differentiates this from other studies of the subject by labeling it an exploration of "collective psychology." He reduces that strand of popular thought which interests him most to a simple syllogism: tyrants ought to be killed; Henry IV is a tyrant; therefore Henry IV ought to be killed. He then presents evidence that each of these propositions seemed plausible to men of the period and that each was accepted by significant parts of the population. In demonstration of the major premise of this syllogism, Mousnier deftly sketches a history of justifications for assassination, both of a tyrant by usurpation and of a tyrant by practice, from the ancients through the Jesuit theologians of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This demonstration is based mostly upon a fresh reading of the relevant sources. It is occasionally a bit imprecise. For example, Mousnier analyzes the *Du droit des magistrats* of 1574, without mentioning that it was written by Theodore Beza, and, in a discussion of John Ponet's *Short Treatise of Political Power*, he refers to selections in an old anthology rather than to Winthrop Hudson's integral edition. But these are minor flaws in a generally skillful and persuasive analysis. And when the author moves on to demonstrate the minor premise of his syllogism, he is on ground where few would dare to challenge him. The massive archival research that went into his *La Vénalité des Offices* and his many other works on the period is used here with telling effect, in support of the argument that ardent Catholics in the France of Henry IV had reason to be dissatisfied with the King's foreign policy, with his religious policy, and with his administration of the realm. That such dissatisfactions did actually cause this assassination, however, Mousnier shrinks from claiming. There is little evidence to connect Ravallac with the Jesuit defenders of tyrannicide, and less to suggest that he was personally disturbed by unpopular royal policies of taxation or appointment. The chief reason that he himself gave for his act was a rather vague sense of outrage at the King's religious policy. Perhaps the problem to which this book is addressed ultimately becomes as much one of individual as of collective psychology.

State University of Iowa

ROBERT M. KINGDON

LES SOURCES STATISTIQUES DE L'HISTOIRE DE FRANCE: DES ENQUÊTES DU XVII^e SIÈCLE À 1870. By *Bertrand Gille*. [Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IV^e Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Series 5, Hautes études médiévales et modernes, Number 1.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz; Paris: Librairie

Minard. 1964. Pp. 288.) Prepared by the distinguished economic historian who did more than anyone else to locate entrepreneurial records and bring them into French public archives, this excellent manual is an indispensable guide to research on French economic and social history from Colbert to the end of the Second Empire. It is not, of course, a collection of data, but a handbook on sources and method. Professor Gille deals with statistics of population, harvests, foreign trade, industrial production and facilities, wages, transports, prices, poor relief, prisons, crime, labor, and securities and foreign exchange quotations. He lists the printed and archival sources; explains how they were gathered, reported, and compiled; assesses their reliability and the limits within which they can be used; and in footnotes cites the main professional discussions of their merits, their shortcomings, and the best ways of exploiting them. Although Gille presents this book as provisional and subject to later revision, it has long been needed and ought to have an impact of the best kind. As he observes, too many historians are uncritical in using statistics. They take their figures raw, without criticism, and without the knowledge (which is essential) of who assembled and processed them and how they did it. Although he encourages statistical research, he gives no comfort to those who expect macroeconomic analyses of the early periods. For the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, there are too many untabulated factors, too many lacunae, too many series tainted with partial enumeration, careless or dishonest reporting, unpublished changes of method, and confusion about weights and measures. Although some series may be reconstructed or improved by "soundings" and other checks, the over-all prospects are pessimistic. The reliable series on population movements, for example, begin with 1770; those on foreign commerce with 1819; on crimes and punishments with 1825; on the mining industry with 1833; and on wages with 1863. This is not to say that the use of statistics by historians will decline. As more are unearthed, tested, and adjusted, it will probably increase. Gille's book will no doubt promote that result and most certainly will add to the sophistication with which historians apply quantitative methods to their work.

University of North Carolina

GEORGE V. TAYLOR

PIERRE ROUSSEAU AND THE *PHILOSOPHES* OF BOUILLON. By *Raymond F. Birn*. [Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, Volume XXIX.] (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire. 1964. Pp. 212. 32 fr. S.) Pierre Rousseau (1716-1785), publisher and publicist of the French Enlightenment, was doubtless a more important figure in his own age than his usual relegation to passing mention and to footnotes would imply today. Raymond F. Birn's admirable monograph is to be commended not only for its careful documentation of this fact but also for its realistic avoidance of extravagant claims on behalf of its subject. This work pretends to be little more than a case study in the popularization and diffusion of the enlightened ideas of Rousseau's greater contemporaries, but its significance extends well beyond illuminating the contribution of one man, and of his associates and successors. Most historians have long known that frequently in the decades before 1789 the diffusion of enlightened ideas proceeded less through direct acquaintance with the major thinkers than through such popularizing media as Freemasonry, the journals, and other writings of direct appeal to the broad literate public. Acknowledging here his debt particularly to Mornet, Birn offers revealing insights into the nature and technique of this popularizing effort, and into the operation of the French and foreign censorship in the decades before the Revolution. He demonstrates convincingly that "political and economic considerations, rather than ideological ones, often determined the position of church and state officials toward Rousseau and his publications." Most notable of these publications was the *Journal Encyclopédique*, published from 1756 in Liège, then briefly and surreptitiously in Brussels, and finally (1760-1793) in the pocket duchy of Bouillon. There Rousseau

and his successors "were able at last to print their organ in relative security, popularizing the *philosophes* with book reviews, granting them space for original contributions, and condensing and analysing articles from the *Encyclopédie*." Though moderate in its revolt against the established order (its condemnations, for example, of philosophical materialism were severe), the *Journal* long fought for deism, universalism, a rational ethics, the ideal of human perfectibility, and, above all, for freedom of expression. It is to this narrative that Birn devotes by far the larger portion of his monograph, and to the other journals and books published (some openly, others clandestinely) by Rousseau and his associates in Bouillon. Two lively, if rather parenthetical, chapters treat the story of the "Panckoucke Edition" of the *Encyclopédie* and the *Suppléments à l'Encyclopédie*, and a useful analysis of the contents of the *Journal Encyclopédique* precedes the author's summary conclusion. The writing is fluent, the organization generally fine, and the research, as outlined in the bibliography, thorough. An index would have been helpful.

University of Akron

HENRY VYVERBERG

MISALLIANCE: A STUDY OF FRENCH POLICY IN RUSSIA DURING THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR. By L. Jay Oliva. ([New York:] New York University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 218. \$6.00.) According to the author, an assistant professor at New York University, the subject of this book has been ignored for many years. The last serious attempts to treat it (by the Frenchmen Vandal and Rambaud) were written "in the shadow of France's humiliation by the newborn German Empire," and they found the secret of France's weakness "in its stubborn refusal to throw over old policies and to unite boldly . . . with the rising power of the Russian Empire in 1756"—as it finally did in 1890-1894. Professor Oliva's aim is to test the validity of these older concepts, "to discover whether there ever existed in the Franco-Russian relationship any elements of mutuality, desirability, or durability." To this end he has engaged in research in French archives and libraries, and he has read widely in Prussian, Austrian, French, Russian, and English materials (including, significantly, a 1954 unpublished New York University doctoral dissertation by Sidney Horowitz on Franco-Russian relations, 1740-1746). Despite its brevity, Oliva's study is too detailed for adequate analysis in a short review. All that can be attempted here is a brief summary of the contents and conclusions. In six chapters with provocative titles, Oliva traces Franco-Russian relations during the years 1748-1762. The involvements often border on the ridiculous: the French Foreign Office operating toward an entente, and unknown to it, the "King's Secret" (acting through an expatriated Scot, who was suspect to the British) working toward a French prince on the Polish throne; the Russian court divided by pro- and anti-French factions; the constant maneuverings of all the Great Powers; the complications occasioned by the outbreak of war. The short-lived understanding that did eventuate foundered upon accident and self-interest, and the succession of a pro-Prussian tsar in 1762 sealed the schism. The author's summation is well expressed in the opening and closing statements of his concluding chapter: "The Franco-Russian rapprochement of 1756-1761 was a hastily created by-product of the diplomatic revolution and the Seven Years' War. [It] was less an alliance than a contest to determine who could make the best use of whom. . . . France, at first unwittingly and then unwillingly, took the loser's part." One of the most astonishing features of this book is the manner in which the author has presented so much detailed information so clearly within such a limited space. It is to be hoped that his obvious interest in good writing will not jeopardize his professional advancement.

Western Reserve University

JOHN HALL STEWART

THE WORKS OF JOSEPH DE MAISTRE. Selected, translated and introduced by *Jack Lively*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1965. Pp. ix, 303. \$8.95.) Mr. Lively correctly points out that Joseph de Maistre is one of the most quoted and least read of the major thinkers. Edmund Burke's sonorities have been commented upon with increasing frequency in recent years, but in our time there have been few significant works on his French counterpart—one thinks of Caponigri, of Huber, of Sir Isaiah Berlin's paradoxical use of Maistre's thought in *The Hedgehog and the Fox*. Of Maistre's own writings, published in fourteen volumes in 1884–1886, the reader limited to English had available nothing more than the brief *Essay on the Generative Principle of Political Constitutions* and *Letters on the Spanish Inquisition*. We must therefore be grateful for this selection of excerpts from six of Maistre's principal works, preceded by a plausible and well-written introductory essay, though the compass of the book by no means matches the expectations aroused by its title and by its dust jacket, which describes it as the "first full translation into English of the writings of this extraordinary political philosopher and diplomat. . . ." Here the reader will find portions of *Considérations sur la France*, *Étude sur la souveraineté*, *Du Pape*, *Essai sur le principe générateur des constitutions politiques*, *Les Soirées de Saint-Pétersbourg*, and *Éclaircissements sur les sacrifices*. While there is nothing from the remarkable correspondence, or the *Examen de la philosophie de Bacon*, in which Maistre attacks modern science in its popular eighteenth-century embodiment, a number of Maistre's provocative and important passages are included: the portrait of the executioner; the dialogues on war; the answer to Job's awesome question; the sharp and uncompromising defense of ultramontane Catholicism, which once again makes evident the distance Rome has moved from this orthodox position in the past 150 years. Maistre's reflections on the French Revolution remain one of the great historical diagnoses of an event by the introspective defeated, always psychologically more interesting than histories of triumph because the conquerors are usually too busy organizing the victory to think seriously about what has transpired. Soundings made by me indicate that Lively's translations are conscientious and precise. Whether he communicates the feeling tone of the dialogues that take place during the white nights of St. Petersburg is another question. The poetry seems gone. And without it, Maistre remains an arguer with the philosophes, skillful in manipulating syllogisms, but convincing only if one accepts as a premise the Petrine rock on which his whole structure is founded.

Brandeis University

FRANK E. MANUEL

NAPOLEON IN VICTORY AND DEFEAT. By *T. M. Hunter*. ([Ottawa:] Directorate of Military Training, Army Headquarters; distrib. by the Queen's Printer, Ottawa. 1964. Pp. 324. \$3.00.) In the vanguard of the avalanche of works on Napoleon that may be expected to appear as the two hundredth anniversary of his birth approaches, this readable volume will serve well as an introduction for the newcomer to Napoleonic literature or as a refresher for the neglectful dilettante. Since it is a survey, some of the military campaigns receive bare mention (Marengo, for example, and the campaign of 1809 against Austria), but this enables the author to give greater attention to the better-known ones: Ulm, Austerlitz, Lützen, Russia, Leipzig, and the final campaign of 1815. In a sober evaluation of the man and his career, Colonel Hunter takes a middle-of-the-road approach, deeming him neither untarnished hero nor despicable villain. The serious student of the era may be perturbed with the author's reliance on some sources that are suspect and a somewhat uncritical dependence on Jomini, but as a broad survey of the man and his military and governmental accomplishments and failures, the work provides adequate background for more detailed and selective reading.

Department of the Army

CHARLES B. MACDONALD

SOCIALISME ET INTERNATIONALISME: CONSTANTIN PECQUEUR. By *Ahmed Zouaoui*. [Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique, Number 5.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1964. Pp. 223.) Originally presented as a *thèse* at the University of Geneva, this study is a clear, straightforward account of the doctrines of one of the "fathers" of nineteenth-century state collectivism. The author places Pecqueur (1801-1887) within the context of the broad streams of the socialist and reformist thought of his time and notes specifically the influence of Saint-Simon and Fourier on Pecqueur. In his exposition of Pecqueur's vision of the future organization of society, a society that would be characterized by liberty, equality, and fraternity, the author points up the importance of religion and moral idealism in the structuring of that vision, and while he places due emphasis on the utopianism that generally informs Pecqueur's work, he does indicate how Pecqueur in certain respects correctly anticipated developments that have come to characterize some contemporary welfare states. There is little that is new in this work, which is not surprising since the author based his study exclusively on Pecqueur's published writings and on secondary works printed in French. Moreover, the author's reliance on earlier studies of Pecqueur, particularly Georges Marcy's, is readily apparent; he also ignored relevant recent work in English and other languages, and, most important, he made no use of Pecqueur's unpublished manuscripts housed in Paris at the *Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés*.

City College of New York

AARON NOLAND

THE DECLINE OF FRENCH PATRIOTISM, 1870-1940. By *Herbert Tint*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1964. Pp. x, 11-272. 40s.) Mr. Tint is plainly a well-informed scholar, and he has chosen an attractive subject; yet this is a curiously disappointing book. Part of the trouble is that "patriotism" is a slippery word, and that Tint's initial definition strikes me as neither entirely satisfactory nor consistently applied throughout. Equally serious is his unwillingness to concentrate steadily and precisely on the topic at hand; he is repeatedly tempted to stray into the lush pastures along the way and to narrate episodes such as the Boulanger affair that really do not need retelling. Meanwhile he does not grapple effectively with some of the central issues: for example, the depth and breadth of the *revanche* spirit and the reasons for changes in public and political attitudes toward the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine. There is one passing reference to the influence of schoolteachers, but no attempt to analyze or assess the significant role of the educational system. Tint's favorite source is Barodet, which provides some juicy bits from each electoral period, but it is doubtful that this collection of official campaign statements is much more revealing than are American party platforms. Finally, a pervasive undertone of disabused cynicism runs through the book. Motives and attitudes are repeatedly impugned: Gambetta, Clemenceau, Jaurès, Briand, Poincaré, Blum—especially Blum—all get the back of Tint's hand. Certain judgments seem almost pugnaciously designed to provoke reviewers into a contentious mood. Was *revanche* really resuscitated by the politicians in August 1914 as a device "to unite the country in its reluctance and bewilderment"? Was February 6 really a Fascist plot that succeeded, by putting the nominee of the plotters (Doumergue) into office? Did the Third Republic go under simply "because its citizens had no longer seen any reason for keeping it alive"? Is it either fair or accurate to say that the returning Gaullists in 1944-1945 "were allowed to confuse an allied victory with their own patriotic virtue, ambition and revenge with justice"? Why is it "grotesque to confuse the events that crowded around the 13th May 1958 with explosions of resurgent patriotism"? Strong views make good reading, but they need to be cogently argued, not handed down as ex-cathedra pronouncements.

Stanford University

GORDON WRIGHT

GAMBETTA DANS LES TEMPÊTES. By *Georges Wormser*. (Paris: Éditions Sirey. 1964. Pp. 292. 20 fr.) Georges Wormser tries again, as in *La République de Clemenceau*, to illuminate political history by what he calls "the direct approach" to biography. The idea, which is good, is to seize an important figure at moments of crisis and decision and, through his personality and actions, shown by many direct quotations, to explain significant historical episodes and developments. Wormser stresses the need of documentation in the primary sources, especially "ces correspondances où l'être sincère se lit à nu." Some unpublished letters of Léon Gambetta—who, like most letter writers, far from strips himself of all pretense, as Wormser suggests—were the point of departure for this book. But these letters relate only to the most peripheral of the book's concerns. The "tempests" are those of 1870 and the government of national defense, 1875 and the republicans' acceptance of a senate, permitting the adoption of the "organic laws" of the Third Republic, and the republican victory over MacMahon in 1877. The book, however, is only a stringing together of quotations, mostly from the published memoirs for the period, a few from Gambetta's speeches and decrees, and a few more from the published letters of that "erratic and disconcerting genius" (as David Thomson calls him). There is no use of archival material, little of the valuable secondary sources, and none of anything in languages other than French. The unpublished letters come down to a few in which Gambetta, in the mid-1870's, stressed the need for peace, even in the revision of the Treaty of Frankfurt, and uttered a few interesting if vague thoughts about European federation. He called for "a federative system, . . . a Republic of Europe, . . . which will leave our France eternally strong." Another "disconcerting genius," the founder of the Fifth Republic, might well approve this aim of a founding father of the Third Republic. But this book, alas, fails (except in its photographic plates) to bring alive the exciting figure who was Gambetta or to illuminate further the tempests he sought to dominate.

University of Oregon

VAL R. LORWIN

1914: LA GUERRE ET LE MOUVEMENT OUVRIER FRANÇAIS. By *Annie Kriegel* and *Jean-Jacques Becker*. [Collection Kiosque, Number 27.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1964. Pp. 243. 8.50 fr.) Pacifism, antimilitarism, and internationalism were vociferously well-advertised slogans of the pre-1914 French worker movement, whether Socialist, syndicalist, or anarchist. Authors Kriegel and Becker trace the sometimes subtle, sometimes bold repudiation or modification of these proletarian principles in France through the hectic summer days of 1914 producing diplomatic crisis, the mobilization decree, and the declaration of war. By the time war came, the French worker movement, with few exceptions, had been converted to a patriotic, belligerent, Boche hating body, not unlike the bourgeois French society at large. The reasons for the carefully revealed transformation are intelligently and sympathetically presented, even the CGT's sudden reversal of a threatened general strike to prevent war. The prevalent presumption that any twentieth-century war would be short ("Home by Christmas") might also have been introduced as a factor undercutting a firm antiwar stand. Copious citations from the workers' political and journalistic leaders and mouthpieces recapture the spirit as well as the naked developments of the period. Principally documented from the contemporary French press and periodical sources and from political party and worker organization archives, the book is replete with appropriate illustrations and helpful appendixes of the political geography of worker strength, biographical sketches, and so forth. *1914: La Guerre et le mouvement ouvrier français* is well worth space on the growing shelf of works on World War I.

Hunter College

DONALD J. HARVEY

LA LIBÉRATION: LES ARCHIVES DU COMAC (MAI-AOÛT 1944). By *Maurice Kriegel-Valrimont*. [Grands documents, Number 16.] (Paris: Éditions de Minuit. 1964.

Pp. 271. 13.50 fr.) These pages purport to reveal the full story of the struggle between General de Gaulle and the leaders of the *Forces françaises de l'Intérieur* in occupied Paris, just before and during the liberation of the city, for control of the resistance movement. M. Kriegel-Valrimont, one of the two Communists in the three-man *Comité d'action militaire* of the *Conseil national de la Résistance*, says that the book is a mere transcription of the minutes of the *Comité's* meetings. But it is both less and more, being principally an interpretation of events. The minutes appear to have been considerably filled out and adapted in the twenty years following. This almost day-by-day record is, nevertheless, full of interest. Lengthy proclamations (one thinks of the Revolution born making speeches) and telegrams are included. However slanted the presentation, the work has great value. The basic theme is of the *Comité's* effort to obtain greater material support from London, to maintain its direction of the FFI activities, and to beat off De Gaulle's determination to rein in the FFI once the liberation of France was in progress. The author insists upon the crucial role of the internal resistance, the bad faith of De Gaulle in seeking to deprive the resistance of its rewards and authority, and the brutality with which the general suddenly suppressed the *Comité* at the end of August 1944. In all these skirmishes, the principal protagonists are Jacques Chaban-Delmas (then a youthful general representing London and Algiers at the *Comité* meetings, now President of the National Assembly) and General Paul Ely (then representing De Gaulle and General Pierre Koenig, later chief of staff of the French Army), on the one hand, and the *Comité* trio and Alfred Malleret-Joinville (the *chef de l'état-major national* of the FFI), on the other. This account of their disputes is undeniably important. The argument is that the resistance alone understood and commanded the following of most Frenchmen; the implication is that it was robbed of its successes and its ability to maintain France in a condition independent of its overbearing allies by De Gaulle who, for his own purposes, chose to subordinate the country to them. Whether one accepts Kriegel-Valrimont's partisan point of view (and he naturally avoids an overt discussion of politics), it must be set beside that of others as a significant contribution to the history of the liberation.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

DIARIUM VAN EGBERT ALTING, 1553-1594. Edited by W. J. Formsma and R. van Roijen. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Major Series, Number 111.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1964. Pp. xx, 967.) From August 1553 until May 1594 Egbert Alting, the secretary of the city council of Groningen, noted in his journal whatever occupied the attention of the sixteen councilmen who ran the affairs of this largest and most important city in the northeast Netherlands. His notations originally filled six manuscript volumes of about a thousand pages each. One of these (February 1566-August 1569) has been lost; the others have now been published by the Dutch government in a version begun in 1928 by the late archivist of the city of Leiden (Van Roijen) and completed by the director of government archives in the province of Groningen (Formsma). Except for the omission of numerous references to routine judicial matters, the diary is complete. So many details have been left in as to make me wish that the editors had pruned more liberally. Otherwise this book is a model of professional editing, with a subject index, an index to persons and places, and a glossary of unfamiliar terms. Alting's journal provides the earliest extant continuous record of the political, administrative, and judicial decisions of the city council of Groningen. While it does not materially alter our understanding of the city's political history, the *Diarium* gives a direct insight into the functioning of city government in those days. It indirectly reflects, moreover, many facets of the daily life of the inhabitants. As a mine of information on the administrative and social history of one of the major towns of the Netherlands during the second half of the sixteenth century, this work should be of more than

local interest. As a political document the *Diarium* has little to offer. For one thing, it is not complete in itself. Furthermore, it is unimaginatively written and largely impersonal. Though he never explicitly states his political position, Alting apparently identified himself with the dominant Roman Catholic, pro-Spanish faction in the city council. Either for this reason or because of his concern for the mechanics of city government, his political perspective seems to have been that of a person who operated within the closed circuit of the ruling coterie and who entirely missed the significance of the birth of the Dutch Republic.

Washington, D. C.

BERTUS H. WABEKE

BLODBADET I STOCKHOLM OG DETS JURIDISKE MASKERING. By *Niels Skyum-Nielsen*. [Scandinavian University Books.] ([Copenhagen:] Munksgaard. 1964. Pp. 251. D. kr. 27.) This volume is an expansion of a point of view that the author presented to Scandinavian historians as early as August 1961. He holds that King Christian II of Denmark and the Swedish Archbishop Gustav Trolle proceeded in the notorious "Bloodbath of Stockholm" (November 7, 1520) under the strictest forms of civil and canon law and that their procedures were defensible, if only from the legal point of view. Previous historians have emphasized that the sentences under which the victims were killed were based on their open and flagrant heresy. In opposition to this, Skyum-Nielsen feels that they were not condemned as heretics, but as excommunicants. Their breach with the Church did not depend on their deviations from its doctrines, but on their notorious disregard for its orders and prescriptions, especially on their contumacious conduct in not yielding obedience to their lawful king, Christian II, and on their treatment of Archbishop Trolle. That their behavior depended on their political disagreements with both had been disregarded by the papal *Curia* and was not allowed as a plea in the hasty proceedings in Stockholm. Excommunication made it possible for King and archbishop to proceed against churchmen, including two bishops, as "heretics, excommunicants, perjurers, and schismatics," and both laymen and clerics could and did lose their heads in the bloodbath. The executions, however, were extended to some who could in no wise be regarded as among the excommunicants; they lost their heads without any trace of legality. The author points out that those who did save themselves did so by coming to terms with the Church, with the archbishop, and with Bishop Brask of Linköping, rather than with the secular authorities. The author has gone to the applicable sections of canon law, has shown where knowledge of it was available to the laymen and clerics involved, and has correlated it with previous actions taken elsewhere under comparable conditions. Within the restrictions indicated in his title—"the judicial masking" of the sentences—it seems that he has proved his case and added much to the breadth of vision that we must exercise in looking at this notable and notorious event. The volume is well written, well printed, carefully proofread, but, like most paperbacks, poorly bound. Three readings left it practically unusable.

University of Southern California

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN

SUOMEN ASIAIN KOMITEA: SUOMEN KORKEIMMAN HALLINNON JÄRJESTELYT JA TOTEUTTAMINEN VUOSINA 1811-1826. By *Keijo Korhonen*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Number 65.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1963. Pp. 460.) The Russian invasion of Finland in February 1808 resulted in the territorial dismemberment of the Swedish kingdom in that Finland, comprising nearly one-half of the kingdom, was ceded to the Russian Empire. By the end of 1809 the cession had led to arrangements defining Finland's union with Russia in a manner that was unique, to say the least. The substance of the arrangements in which the Finnish Diet

participated was that Finland would henceforth be an autonomous political entity—the grand duchy of Finland—with a separate government and constitution of its own. The constitution was, for all practical purposes, the constitution of Sweden as it had been defined in 1772 and 1789 while Finland was still an integral part of that country. The governmental and administrative organs for autonomous Finland after 1809 were devised, for the most part, during the following two years. The blueprint called for the Finnish central government to be established by 1811, a number of subordinate offices (such as the Medical Directorate), and it included arrangements for the handling of Finnish business in St. Petersburg. Incidentally, such business, Alexander I decided, would not involve departments of the imperial government, but would be submitted directly to him. A Finnish State Secretariat and a special organ, the Finnish Affairs Committee (both manned by Finnish and not Russian citizens) were therefore set up to serve as agencies for dealing with matters relating to Finland. It is the Finnish Affairs Committee that Dr. Korhonen discusses in his long and excellent work, solidly grounded in extensive research, especially in Finnish and Russian sources. His six substantial chapters describe the founding and labors of the committee during the fifteen years of its existence and its dissolution in 1826 when the Finnish State Secretariat became the sole official representative of Finland in the Russian capital. The author concludes, incidentally, that the dissolution of the committee meant a disadvantage “in the handling of Finland’s policy toward Russia” and that in taking care of the business and interests of Finnish citizens in St. Petersburg the committee really functioned “as Finland’s first mission abroad.” Two features of the book recommend it to the non-specialist unable to read Finnish: a first-rate, eighteen-page, chapter-by-chapter summary—practically an article—in German, and a dozen helpful tables, the rubrics and explanations of which are given, throughout, in German as well as in Finnish.

Columbia University

JOHN H. WUORINEN

PREUSSEN: EPOCHEN UND PROBLEME SEINER GESCHICHTE. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1964. Pp. vi, 200. DM 12.) This collection of essays has been so skillfully integrated into a coherent story that it offers in effect an excellent short survey of the history of Prussia. Starting from its dual beginnings in the Mark Brandenburg and the state of the Teutonic Knights, the book covers developments up to Prussia’s decline into a virtual province of the Third *Reich*. The six papers are all of high quality, and not a few provide important new insights into their topics. Herbert Helbig’s essay on the state of the Teutonic Knights clarifies the political role that the estates played in the *Ordensstaat*. In an able condensation of his more comprehensive study Johannes Schultze surveys the history of the Mark Brandenburg from the days of the Ascanians to the proclamation of the kingdom of Prussia. F. L. Carsten, dealing with the origins of the Prussian *Junkers*, pays special attention to their role as entrepreneurs. Ernst Klein deals with the age of the absolute rulers and contrasts the absolutism of Frederick William I who tried to subdue Prussia’s nobility with that of his son, Frederick the Great, who allied himself with his nobles. Richard Dietrich outlines Prussia’s role in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and points to the privileged position of the Prussian Conservatives as one of the major weaknesses of the Wilhelminian Empire. In the concluding paper on Prussia in the Weimar Republic, Georg Kotowski stresses the fact that Prussia’s German role was curtailed in the Weimar era, not only by the abolition of the personal union that linked the Prussian and German state and government, but also by the imposition of severe political and financial curbs. While Kotowski understates somewhat the extent to which Prussia too was infected by the National Socialist incubus, he emphasizes rightly the often forgotten fact that Prussia upheld Weimar democracy longer than did the *Reich*. Until a more com-

prehensive history of Prussia is written from our present perspective, this book will provide the best up-to-date guide through that state's tortuous history.

Ohio State University

ANDREAS DORPALEN

DIE SCHÖPPENBÜCHER DER MARK BRANDENBURG, BESONDERS DES KREISES ZÜLLICHAU-SCHWIEBUS. By *Bernhard Hinz*. Edited with an introduction by *Gerd Heinrich*. [Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Number 12.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1964. Pp. xii, 269.) The *Schöppenbücher* of the title refers to the journals of the lay courts which exercised original jurisdiction in many German villages from the late Middle Ages until well into the nineteenth century. In the introduction, the editor explains that practically all of these court journals for the province of Brandenburg, which had been in the possession of the former Prussian Secret State Archives in Berlin, in local museums, manor houses, or other depositories, were either destroyed or lost in World War II. Fortunately, however, Dr. Hinz had completed a study of these journals prior to the end of the war and had managed to save his manuscript as well as the extensive notes he had taken from the original documents. It is this monograph and these excerpts that are here published. Included also are lists of all the villages in the county of Züllichau-Schwiebus and in Brandenburg which had such court journals, a good bibliography on the subject, reproductions of a few sample pages, an index, and a large map indicating the location of the villages. Most of the entries in the journals concern changes in landownership. They confirm that the peasant was usually free to dispose of the land but that the fee he had to pay to the lord of the manor (*Gutsherr*) was quite substantial, ranging from 5 per cent to as much as 16 per cent of the land's value. It is also interesting to note that division of real property among the heirs was rare. The youngest son, not the oldest, had first rights to the land, rights that he usually exercised after making arrangements to pay off the other heirs. The author's essay, basically an explanatory text of the journals, is excellent, but sometimes suffers from this narrow focus. It would have been desirable to have placed the changes occurring in these lay courts within the larger framework of the legal reforms taking place on a provincial and state level. For instance, these courts declined when their functions were taken over by trained judicial officials (*Justitiare*). This was one of the consequences of the sweeping reforms in the Prussian judicial administration initiated by Frederick the Great, which finally culminated in the loss by the *Junkers* of their judicial powers in 1849. Yet the author, the editor, and the Historical Commission of Berlin are to be commended for making this valuable, and now unique, material available to a wide audience of historians.

University of Rhode Island

HERMAN N. WEILL

VON DER REFORM ZUR RESTAURATION: FINANZPOLITIK UND REFORMGESETZGEBUNG DES PREUSSISCHEN STAATSKANZLERS KARL AUGUST VON HARDENBERG. By *Ernst Klein*. [Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Number 16.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1965. Pp. viii, 352. DM 48.) Despite his vital role in the reconstruction of the Prussian state after its collapse at Jena, Hardenberg has never had many admirers, either in his own lifetime or since. To the conservatives he was always the aristocratic Jacobin who had turned against his social class, while the liberals could not forgive what they considered his betrayal of the cause of reform. Ernst Klein's book is not likely to increase the affection of posterity for the old Chancellor, but it does offer new and persuasive reasons for the antipathy that he has generally inspired. The Hardenberg who emerges from these pages is a *grand seigneur* of the old regime, opportunistic, spendthrift, fashionably dissipated, and insatiably hungry

for power. His long tenure of the highest political office is dominated by the threat of bankruptcy hanging constantly over the public treasury, after 1815 as well as before. The need to increase revenues is therefore, the chief, if not the only, reason for such reforms as the reorganization of the taxation system, the introduction of industrial freedom, and the abolition of manorialism. Hardenberg forced contributions out of a sullen populace, he imposed free competition on reluctant artisans, and he sacrificed the interests of the peasantry to appease the *Junkers*. In politics he was no more liberal than in economics. His constitutional schemes were only a paper façade to disguise an autocratic regime in which newspapers were censored and critics persecuted with a harshness even exceeding the requirements of the notorious Carlsbad decrees. Yet he cannot be charged with unfaithfulness to the heritage of Stein, since he had never accepted that heritage. His ultimate purpose was not to regenerate but to reorganize the state. He was opposed by the aristocracy, to be sure, but not because of any devotion to liberal principles. He was rather a Prussian Mazarin seeking to overthrow the traditionalist *frondeurs* and establish a ministerial absolutism. A devotee of eighteenth-century benevolent despotism, he was equally opposed to the feudalistic reactionaries and liberalizing reformers between whom he steered his sinuous course. This portrait is entirely convincing. The author has gone through a mass of hitherto unused archival materials that clearly support his interpretation. Here and there he squeezes his evidence a little too hard, as in the treatment of industrial freedom. But on the whole he succeeds in presenting an analysis of Hardenberg's statecraft that is original, perceptive, and highly important.

University of Wisconsin

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

DIE STANDESHERRN: DIE POLITISCHE UND GESELLSCHAFTLICHE STELLUNG DER MEDIATISIERTEN 1815-1918. EIN BEITRAG ZUR DEUTSCHEN SOZIALGESCHICHTE. By *Heinz Gollwitzer*. (2d rev. ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1964. Pp. 465. DM 28.) This book is an act of piety as well as a work of scholarship. It presents a historical portrait of the mediatized nobility of Central Europe in the nineteenth century, a class composed of those eighty-odd families that had possessed sovereign rights in the Holy Roman Empire, but were then reduced to the position of high aristocracy within the German Confederation. The author dwells in minute and loving detail on the legal status of the *grands seigneurs*, their constitutional prerogatives, political activities, ideological predilections, and style of life. All of this is described in a tone of judicious approbation and faint nostalgia. We are initiated into the arcane world of aristocratic ceremonial, which determined whether a mediatized nobleman was addressed as *Durchlaucht* or merely *Erlaucht*. We learn that for those who moved in this exclusive circle family status was of overriding importance, so that an "indisputably notorious mismatch" became a social disaster. This horror of a match unsuitable "in the moral and biological sense" no doubt accounted for the treatment of Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein-Sayn, born a Lilienthal, who was forced to surrender her title after the death of her husband. But by objecting to this treatment she merely demonstrated that "she had inadequately understood the essence and legal character of princely houses." The grand aristocrats were frequently courtiers, soldiers, statesmen, and patrons of the arts. But many of them also led a "patriarchal quiet existence" characterized by a passionate devotion to the hunt and the Spartan prohibition of candy for children. In the Wilhelminian period they favored colonialism and annexationism, while under the Weimar Republic they were nationalistic and antidemocratic. The reader is asked, however, "whether such activity, purified and elucidated, should not be considered a positive attitude in public life." The author realizes that not all will share his esteem for the way of life of the mediatized nobility. "This is a result of general democratization, and has its good as well as its less good aspects." Maybe so. *De*

gustibus non est disputandum. One can respect the ideals of the Prussian officer corps or the *juncker* squirearchy, the ideals of duty and service to the state, without sharing their over-all political outlook. But even Professor Gollwitzer's scholarly and sympathetic study will leave at least some of his readers with the impression of a social class dominated by nothing higher than an ardent attachment to its exalted position in life.

University of Wisconsin

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL, 1864-1872. By Roger Morgan. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 280. \$8.50.) In this splendid piece of thorough research and meticulous analysis Mr. Morgan attempts to assess the role of the First International in the early years of German Socialism. He concludes that the International did have a real though probably not major influence in the development of doctrine, but that in organizational matters it was never more than a marginal factor in essentially German struggles. In periods when the International's prestige was low, as in 1864-1866 and 1869-1872, German Socialist leaders found affiliation with the organization an embarrassment in so far as it worsened their relations with their own governments. When the prestige of the International rose, as it did in 1868 and 1869, German Socialists tried to exploit the connection for purposes that had less to do with the growth of socialism as an international movement than with the conflict between Liebknecht's party and that of Lassalle's successor, Schweitzer. This conflict was itself based mainly on differing programs of national unification, and thus on considerations largely extraneous to socialism. Morgan bases his study on a wide range of printed and unprinted sources, discussed in commendable detail in appendixes and bibliography. He has made particularly full use of the papers, now deposited with the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam, of the dedicated German socialist Johann Philipp Becker. Morgan convincingly argues that Becker, despite his residence in Geneva during this period and despite his limitations as a theorist, had far more to do with building an organization for the First International in Germany than did Marx's self-proclaimed representative Liebknecht. This is examination, on a microscopic scale, of a restricted subject. Its virtues are appropriate to such an undertaking: precision, clarity, exhaustiveness, and careful organization. From this kind of minute dissection the reader gains an understanding of a complex episode that goes deeper than a summary of conclusions would suggest. The drawbacks of this kind of approach are a certain repetitiveness and a certain solemnity about the trivial. The principle of organization adopted accentuates both advantages and disadvantages; after an opening survey of the total problem, succeeding chapters present essentially the same material expanded and reworked from different points of view. Morgan can, however, be congratulated for having written in a consistently pleasing manner, not the easiest of achievements given this particular topic. His general theses are so persuasively presented that it is a minor criticism to add that at points his interpretations would be more convincing if more fully supported by direct quotations from the individuals discussed.

Connecticut College

LENORE O'BOYLE

ARTHUR ROSENBERG ALS VERTRETER DES HISTORISCHEN MATERIALISMUS. By Helmut Schachenmayer. [Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institutes München, Number 20.] (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 1964. Pp. 184. DM 24.) If ever the words of Faust, "Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach, in meiner Brust," applied to a twentieth-century historian, it was Arthur Rosenberg. Born in Berlin, he studied ancient history there, and was guided and inspired by Eduard Meyer who thought highly of him and his scholarly potential. Rosenberg's early writings on Roman history and its sources were well received by most critics. The revolutionary events of 1918 influenced him so deeply that

he gave up his research and entered the field of party politics. As a radical Marxist he first joined the Independent Socialists, but moved to the Communists in 1920 and became a leader of their Left Wing. Elected to the *Reichstag* in 1924, he was a brilliant spokesman for this party, greatly respected even by many of his political adversaries. But while he had looked up to Lenin, especially before the NEP, he was soon disillusioned by Stalin's policies and finally quit the party in protest. He resumed historical studies, concerning himself with the modern political scene rather than the centurions of ancient Rome. His elegant *Die Entstehung der deutschen Republik, 1871-1918*, which grew out of his participation in the work of the *Untersuchungsausschuss* investigating the causes of the collapse of 1918, met with extraordinary success. It established him as a critical but nonpartisan analyst of German history. Also his later study on the history of the Weimar Republic, published in exile in 1935, demonstrated his penetrating mind and, at the same time, his aim to be fair to non-Socialist statesmen such as Stresemann, while he condemned Brüning's methods; both volumes were reissued together in Germany after the war by his friend Kurt Kersten. Rosenberg's *History of Bolshevism*, his third major work, showed him also as an independent and incisive political thinker; it is still worth reading today. Shortly before the war, he came to the US, where he died in 1943, mourned by his students at Brooklyn College. Helmut Schachenmayer, a young German scholar, has successfully reconstructed Rosenberg's life from the meager sources available; he was able to establish contacts with his few surviving intimate friends and his relatives. His portrait seems correct at least to someone who, like me, knew Rosenberg only casually. Schachenmayer is not satisfied with offering the biographic sketch; he also analyzes Rosenberg's concepts of world history from 1776 to 1939 as a great class struggle and deals with his Marxian historical-political theories in considerable detail. This solid monograph will be of considerable interest to students of German Communism and the Weimar Republic.

Trenton State College

FELIX E. HIRSCH

NSDAP HAUPTARCHIV: GUIDE TO THE HOOVER INSTITUTION MICROFILM COLLECTION. Compiled by *Grete Heinz* and *Agnes F. Peterson*. [Hoover Institution Bibliographical Series, Number 17.] ([Stanford, Calif.:] Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University. 1964. Pp. xii, 175. \$4.50.) After the fall of the Third *Reich* the Allied armed forces in Germany gathered a vast amount of documentation on all aspects of the Nazi Empire. Subsequently, these documents were placed in several depositories, organized by different systems, and finally microfilmed by various organizations before they were returned to the German government. The scholar now can fit the pieces together by careful use of the various guides to the microfilms, most of which are deposited at the National Archives. Another important group of documents is now easily available to the researchers through the publication of this guide to *NSDAP Hauptarchiv*. The Hoover Institution had microfilmed a collection of documents captured from the archives of the Nazi party, the so called *NSDAP Hauptarchiv*, which had been collecting materials on the party's history and organization. After 1945 this collection was deposited in the Berlin Document Center, administered by the US Department of State; it was eventually returned to the *Bundesarchiv* in Koblenz. The *Guide* covers the 134 reels of microfilm that contain this collection and presents the material according to the system by which it was organized at the Berlin Document Center, part by subject and part by provenance of the documents. The *Guide* lists the content headings of each folder with additional information supplied where necessary. The *Hauptarchiv* is rich in material pertaining to the early history of the party (1919-1933) and contains valuable information on the relation of church and state during the thirties. There are also many folders on the *Reichsparteitage* (1923-1939) and extensive files on the deployment of the various supplementary Nazi organi-

zations during the war. The material pertaining to the 1933-1945 period is spotty. Although they were not part of the *NSDAP Hauptarchiv* collection, documents from two other collections of the Berlin Document Center were also filmed by the Hoover Institution and included in the *Guide*: a small selection from the *Collection Streicher* and a larger collection from Himmler's personal archive. The latter is a valuable complement to documents microfilmed by the American Historical Association and listed in *Guides to German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria, Va.*, Numbers 32, 33, and 39. The *Guide* has a helpful introduction, a much-needed list of abbreviations and index, and an informative table of contents, all of which will be appreciated by those doing research in the labyrinthine documentation of the Third Reich.

Washington, D. C.

DAGMAR H. PERMAN

NAZI PROPAGANDA. By Z.A.B. Zeman. (New York: Oxford University Press in association with the Wiener Library. 1964. Pp. xiii, 226. \$7.00.) Is the passing of twenty years enough time to give historians the necessary perspective for the writing of systematic studies about a period? Naturally the answer depends on a variety of factors. In the case of Nazi Germany, surely historians today have a wealth of materials and a growing detachment which enable them to prepare more methodical and penetrating analyses than heretofore. Mr. Zeman's subject dates back more than forty years; unfortunately his treatment discloses few new facts and no new interpretations. The book is a cursory summary of the way Nazi propaganda developed during the *Kampfzeit*, the years of peace and expansion in the 1930's, and the period of World War II. The author describes some of the fundamental differences in political persuasion used by the party for "the conquest of the masses," by the state after 1933 for internal consolidation and external subversion, and finally by the state and the army for the support of Hitler's war aims. There are brief sections on the efforts of propaganda agencies abroad, on the long-term themes of anti-Semitism and anti-Communism, on the efficacy of Nazi radio broadcasts to foreign countries like Austria and England, and on the role of propaganda in the war. Within the limitations of space, this material is covered adequately. Yet this book lacks comprehensiveness and depth. It is too unsystematic for a rigorous survey and too general for an extended monograph. For example, the author is forced to review vast areas of Nazi propaganda in a few paragraphs. The film industry, poster art, party rallies, book publishing, and pamphleteering are treated in a sketchy way. A large number of significantly successful propaganda campaigns, moreover, are neglected. Perhaps the author should have narrowed his subject to the dimensions defined by Oron Hale in his recent book, *The Captive Press in the Third Reich*. A more profound study of Nazi propaganda remains to be written. It is hoped that it will explore the reasons for the enormous capacity of German propagandists to engineer consent in imaginative ways and also the equally great susceptibility of German audiences to permit themselves to be deceived.

Harvard University

RICHARD M. HUNT

THE FORTRESS THAT NEVER WAS: THE MYTH OF HITLER'S BAVARIAN STRONGHOLD. By Rodney G. Minott. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1964. Pp. xvi, 208. \$4.95.) Rodney G. Minott has addressed himself to the problem of how "so many intelligent Americans could be hoodwinked" by the myth of the national redoubt supposedly established by the Nazis in the Austrian Alps during the last days of the Second World War. With thorough research, going well beyond the usual official sources into the captured German records, the author has laid a fine foundation for a proper presentation of this interesting, if relatively minor facet of General Eisenhower's crusade in Europe. On the surface, Minott, and with him the US Army, certainly have a formal case. Avowedly because of US intelligence failures, and as a result of political

naïveté and resentment over Field Marshal Montgomery's tactless interventions, the US Army repeatedly rejected British pleas to move north into Berlin and Prague rather than south into the Tirol and Salzburg during the triumphant spring of 1945. In reality it is impossible to explain the American Army's slip away from the approaching Russians toward the purported Nazi redoubt without a fuller consideration of the wider questions of Allied policy and over-all strategy during this decisive period. In all fairness, Minott does face certain of the implications of these inescapable larger issues to some extent, but here his inexperience in the field manifests itself. Although he notes that the British tended to discount the redoubt, as the Americans were inclined to accept it, Minott does not really perceive how these official differences in interpretation of intelligence were basically reflections of the Anglo-American differences in fundamental policy. By the spring of 1945 the US Army was no longer primarily dedicated to the war in Western Europe; its overwhelming motive was simply to clean up the last remnants of the *Wehrmacht* within its assigned area of responsibility as quickly as possible so as to get on with its real war—that against Japan. Conversely for the British, the real war had always been one of re-establishing the balance of power in Europe. Thus, for the British, the great American offensive in the Far East was merely incidental to their European endeavors. Consequently, if the US had every reason to believe the wilder assertions of Goebbels' propaganda organs regarding the Alpine redoubt, the British, with their principal national interest now concerned with opposing further Soviet advances in Prussia and Bohemia, had every reason to play down the Alpine redoubt. As so often in war, and as the author does not make clear, so-called differences in intelligence, strategy, or even in military philosophy were frequently little more than polite, if sometimes rather convincing masks for real conflicts in fundamental national policies.

Historical Evaluation and Research Organization

TRUMBULL HIGGINS

WALLENSTEIN UND SEINE ANHÄNGER AM WIENER HOF ZUR ZEIT DES ZWEITEN GENERALATS 1631-1634. By Pekka Suvanto. [Studia Historica, Number 5.] (Helsinki: [Suomen Historiallinen Seura.] 1963. Pp. 398.) The Wallenstein "problem" has stimulated an immense volume of specialized research, well over 2,500 articles and monographs, and has evoked diametrically opposed interpretations. This heavily documented examination of Wallenstein's last years uses as a special instrument a detailed account of his relation to his supporters at the court in Vienna and of their activity, paying special attention to the origin of the group and to its eventual estrangement from Wallenstein and his political goals. Wallenstein emerges neither as Joseph Pekař's megalomaniacal traitor nor as Heinrich Ritter von Srbik's tortured idealist, but rather as an egoistic political general who wished to safeguard the security of his own house, do the necessary things for the army, and establish a lasting peace in the Empire. The sympathetic but dispassionate treatment by this young Finnish scholar places Wallenstein in a fairly favorable light. Wallenstein's cooperation with the Emperor declined steadily after the meeting of the electors at Regensburg in 1630, when Ferdinand II had to remove him from command as a result of pressure from the league, in spite of the protests of his supporters. The approach of Gustavus Adolphus II in 1631 led to Wallenstein's reinstatement while granting him immense powers of war and peace. But his relationship to Vienna was now different, for he distrusted the Habsburg Emperor and his court and neglected political cooperation even with his own backers. At first his military success impressed them, but when in the spring of 1633 he undertook the realization of his great plan for peace independently, he isolated himself and alienated even his friends at court. This incredible fatal blunder lent plausibility to the accusations of Piccolemini and his opponents at court that he had the ruin of the Habsburgs in mind. Only posthumous investigations revealed on what false premises the condemnation of Wallenstein was based. Wallenstein had run afoul of the court's drive to cen-

tralize the political and military power in imperial hands, indicating that also in the Empire the impulse of the age toward absolutism was present. This picture of Wallenstein and of his exoneration from charges of treason comes very close to Leopold von Ranke's assessment of him and of his principal political goals during his last years. Though Suvanto's work is based upon a broader foundation of documents than were available in the last century, it breathes the same detachment and objectivity that have given Ranke's work a lasting quality.

Stanford University

LEWIS W. SPITZ

MISCELLANEA CAVOURIANA. By *M. Bersano Begey et al.* [Collana di studi cavouriani, Number 4.] (Turin: Fondazione "Camillo Cavour." 1964. Pp. vii, 363.) The import of this volume is as modest as the title implies. Most of its nine essays are pleasantly old-fashioned, six of them presented as introductions to a brief string of previously unpublished letters, correspondence with or in some sense about Cavour. More general than interpretive, more concerned to preserve reputations than to analyze, such essays are often belied by the documents they introduce. Sir Ashley Clarke's graceful discussion of James Hudson continues the best tradition of British representatives in Italy, but his denial of the charge by Mack Smith that Hudson's dedication to the interests of Piedmont bordered on treachery is weakened by the twenty letters from Hudson, mainly to Giuseppe Massari, which have been appended. Certainly Hudson, as self-appointed diplomatic adviser to Cavour, assigned himself an extraordinary role. Luciana Frassati's loyal claim that Cavour really did confide in the Marchese Villamarina is less convincing after one reads Cavour's frequent apologies for informing his ambassador in Paris at the last minute of some important matter. And the passages in these letters that were excised in the Chiala edition are proof again of the dangers of hagiography. Paolo Tournon's wish to absolve Cavour of any blame for the disagreement among the editors of *Il Risorgimento*, which led to its demise, is hardly strengthened by letters that show how difficult Cavour could be. If this miscellany has a moral, it is that Cavour's stature has no need for such unhistorical concern. Taken together, these essays and documents show how difficult Cavour's position was and how remarkable were his clear understanding and decent restraint. L. Elda Funaro recounts the pressure Cavour was under from Louis Napoleon to abandon liberal constitutionalism. Ottavio Bariè's discussion of British liberal sympathy for Piedmont before 1850 has the effect of demonstrating how careful Cavour had to be even with his English supporters, how easily they misunderstood, and how little they offered. The correspondence of Monsignor Charvaz, archbishop of Genoa, with Cavour and with others (introduced by Marius Hudry) shows two moderates at their cautious best. Guido Quazza's sensitive introduction to some letters of Emilio Visconti Venosta reminds us, like the letters themselves, what a delicate task Cavour had, even in Lombardy in 1859. Thus, a defensive tone is hardly appropriate even for defenders of Cavour. Marina Bersano Begey writes of the books in Cavour's library with the conviction that many of the most impressive have been lost, protesting too much about the level of his culture. But there is still room to admire the Cavour of bourgeois tastes who preferred novels to classics, political economy to poetry. The books Cavour owned would compare well with the reading of most political figures, not badly even with the library newly collected by commission in the White House.

University of Michigan

RAYMOND GREW

ITALY AFTER FASCISM: A POLITICAL HISTORY, 1943-1963. By *Giuseppe Mamarella*. (Montreal: Mario Casali. 1964. Pp. xi, 364. \$3.50.) The purpose of this book is to "give a chronological account of the political events of the period 1943-1963 . . . to clarify the basic issues around which the political debate has developed and to show how

certain apparently doctrinaire questions were closely connected with practical problems and real situations." Professor Mammarella has achieved his purpose. He has produced a useful and quite readable survey of Italian politics since the overthrow of Mussolini that is not a work of intensive research. It is a picture painted in broad strokes, and some of these look ragged when closely viewed. Attention is narrowly focused on Italy with scarcely a reference to comparable problems and situations in France and West Germany. In the final chapter, which is devoted to "The Economic Miracle," there is not even a mention of the Common Market. It is as if the economic transformation of Italy took place within a vacuum. The central theme is "the efforts made to change profoundly the political and social structures of the country." Nothing is said on the negative side regarding epuration and de-Fascistization; nor is there any clear answer as to how far the apparatus of the new republic was operated by men of the former regime. Particularly for the period 1945-1948 there are frequent minor errors which a more careful review might have eliminated. It is not accurate to describe the Italian Navy of World War II as well equipped when it lacked radar and a fleet aerial arm. Mussolini's phrase was "eight million bayonets," not seven. Rome was proclaimed an open city in August 1943, before the armistice, not after it. Admiral Ellery Wheeler Stone was chief of the Allied Commission, not Harlan Stone. With so much attention paid to the party struggles from the emergence of the anti-Fascist parties in 1943 to the "opening to the left" in the 1960's, it would be easier for the reader if the names of the parties were consistently identified in English rather than by their Italian initials which are not always explained. If there should be another edition of this work, its usefulness would be enhanced by tables showing the Presidents and their terms, the Prime Ministers and their cabinets, and the parties with their full names in Italian together with a brief statement of the creed of each.

Department of State

HOWARD M. SMYTH

DIE UNGARISCHE AGRARENTWICKLUNG IM 16-17. JAHRHUNDERT: ABBIEGUNG VOM WESTEUROPÄISCHEN ENTWICKLUNGSGANG. By Zs. P. Pach. [Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Number 54.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1964. Pp. 164. \$4.20.) At the beginning of the early modern period when serfdom was disappearing in Western Europe, almost a reverse process was taking place in Hungary. Here the landed nobility grew in numbers and power while the peasants were sinking ever deeper into bondage from which they were not freed until the nineteenth century. In a previous study, *Das Entwicklungsniveau der feudalen Agrarverhältnisse in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (1960), the author concluded that by the second half of the fifteenth century Hungarian agriculture had reached the level of Western Europe. The manorial system was breaking up, and parts of the peasantry were moving toward a precapitalist market economy. In the present study Pach undertakes to examine the major factors that produced a curious backward evolution during the next two centuries. The author finds that progress toward a nonfeudal economy was first halted and then reversed by the resurgence in noble power after 1490 and by the repression that followed the Peasants' Revolt of 1514. Reduced to perpetual servitude and burdened with new obligations, the peasantry further suffered under the constant Turkish wars. However, Pach repudiates the views advanced by G. Szekfü, among others, that these wars were the primary and only cause for the economic backwardness of Hungary. He points out that there were similar feudal reversions in areas of Central and Eastern Europe not affected by the Turks. Major responsibility for the deviation of Hungary's agricultural development from the Western European standards, the author believes, belongs to the reactionary feudalism of the Magyar nobility. He concedes, to be sure, that some of the nobles entered into large-scale agricultural production and even developed a primitive marketing organization. But given the

Hungarian feudal framework, this could not progress into a full-scale capitalist agricultural system during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This, in very crude outline, is Pach's main thesis. In support he has marshaled a great amount of data on agricultural production and distribution, based on extensive archival and published sources and monographic materials. There are ninety-four pages of text, followed by seventy pages of notes. The study throughout is cast along the lines of strictly orthodox Marxist historiography and is derived in part from the concepts of the "second era of servitude," originally advanced by Friedrich Engels. Nonetheless, this is an interesting and worth-while specialized contribution to the history of Hungary during the early modern period, and while I hesitate to accept all the conclusions, I believe that they may well serve as the basis for a new critical look at the widely accepted traditional accounts of the nationalist school of historians.

University of New Mexico

GUNTHER E. ROTHENBERG

SVETOZAR MARKOVIĆ AND THE ORIGINS OF BALKAN SOCIALISM. By Woodford D. McClellan. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 308. \$7.50.) Based on Russian and Serbian archival sources and on a wide range of published works, McClellan's *Svetozar Marković* explores Serbian history from the close of the Napoleonic era to the peasant insurrection of 1883, concentrating on the decade 1866–1875. The protagonists are Svetozar Marković (1846–1875) and Serbian socialism. An early champion of separate roads to socialism and of the notion of the duty of economically developed areas to carry part of the burden of uplifting depressed regions in the same country, Marković was doubtless "the most important native Yugoslav socialist of the pre-Marxian era." Among the problems that receive the author's scrutiny are bureaucracy, liberal and radical currents in the Young Serbia (*Omladina*) movement, scientism and materialism in Marković's thought, and Marković's experimentation with cooperatives and his ideology of communalism. Inconsistently, McClellan first contends that Yugoslav Communists regard Marković "as a spiritual if not an ideological ancestor," but then describes their attitude toward him as "arrogant and condescending." He maintains on the same page that Marković was "not at all a social revolutionary" and that he "wanted to turn what he considered the exploiting state into a social state." Torn between the view that "only the anarchists and Karl Marx can be classified as true utopians" and the idea that there are no basic differences between "utopian" and "nonutopian" socialism, he defines Marković's goal as "an unattainable Utopia," a statement difficult to reconcile with Marković's own denial of the view that a permanent or changeless society can ever arise. The author correctly cites Marković's negation of capitalism as a necessary general precondition for socialism. But he omits to observe that Marx himself became amenable, around 1873, to the idea that Russia might be able to leap across the "Caudine Forks of capitalism" through the institution of the commune. He emphasizes Marković's affinities with Chernyshevski, Bakunin, and Lavrov, while generally playing down his indebtedness to Marx, Proudhon, and Louis Blanc. In need of revision are his data on the area and population of Serbia in 1815, which would be correct only if Voivodina were added to Serbia, and an assertion to the effect that the Serbian revolution came to an end in 1812. Despite these criticisms, McClellan's study contains much new information and sound interpretation; it is a valuable addition to scholarship.

Rutgers University

TRAIAN STOIANOVICH

WĘGIERSKA POLITYKA NARODOWOŚCIOWA PRZED WYBUCHEM POWSTANIA 1848 ROKU [Hungarian Policy toward National Minorities before the Revolution of 1848]. By Wacław Felczak. [Polska Akademia Nauk—Oddział w Krakowie. Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 9.] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia

Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1964. Pp. 168. Zł. 28). The complexity of intergroup relations in the multinational Habsburg Empire has not yet been sufficiently elucidated. This is even truer of Hungary where, owing to the unique *de jure* and *de facto* position of that country, the conciliatory role of the dynasty could never be exercised effectively. Under these circumstances the Vienna imperial court applied its infamous policy of divide and rule there more frequently and intensively than in any other section of the monarchy. In most instances this sort of intervention policy affected negatively the cause of coexistence of different nations. Thus, the nationality problem exploded in more violent forms in Hungary than elsewhere in the Empire. Owing to the complex nature of the situation in Hungary, it has been extremely difficult for experts to depict this many-sided topic objectively. Waclaw Felczak's contribution is, in many respects, a noteworthy exception. His thorough command of several languages made possible the extensive use of archival sources (in Budapest and Cracow) as well as monographic and periodical literature published in Hungarian, German, French, English, and several Slavic tongues. This impressive amount of primary sources has been processed and divided into five chapters, the first of which deals with the genesis of the nationality question, while the last one describes in an illustrative manner the outbreak of the 1848 war of nationalities. Felczak has arrived at the correct conclusion in stating that the nationality problem was born as a product of deep-rooted socioeconomic changes. He has, furthermore, also rightly indicated that just as the collapse of feudalism was an inevitable process, so the appearance of the nationality problem was a natural phenomenon. According to the author's well-based interpretation, the nationality conflict exploded automatically, and the policies of the Hungarian ruling classes could only accelerate or sharpen those struggles. In order to prepare a more comprehensive analysis of the influence of the Vienna court on the development of the nationality movement the author should have had access to the materials housed in the Vienna *Staatsarchiv*. Because of the lack of such materials Felczak exaggerated the part Kossuth played, in concluding that he was "the creator of the doctrine of Magyar nationalism." This statement is obviously erroneous if one surveys Hungarian, German, and some Slavic periodicals published decades before the first public appearance of Kossuth. In the light of these periodicals (*Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, for instance) the ideology of the so-called Magyar nationalism was a completely finished product by the 1820's. The volume has Russian and German summaries and a name index.

Library of Congress

FRANCIS S. WAGNER

DOCUMENTE PRIVIND UNIREA PRINCIPATELOR. Volume III, CORRESPONDENȚĂ POLITICĂ (1855-1859). Edited by *Cornelia C. Bodea*. [Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, Institutul de Istorie.] (Bucharest: the Academia. 1963. Pp. xlviii, 699. Lei 34.) This third volume of documents relating to the unification of the Danubian Principalities comprises an extensive selection of political correspondence—letters, reports, telegrams, and so forth—for the critical years 1855-1859. Only a handful of the 416 items have been published before, and the 80 political figures represented in the collection range from ardent advocates of independence and unification to equally hostile opponents. In addition to providing a most welcome sense of the personal side of politics and diplomacy in the years when the future Rumanian state was being created, the documents are of broader significance in their vivid reflection of the intellectual and social climate of the times. Many of the letters are nice examples of epistolary art. Thus, Ion Bălăceanu, in one of his chatty letters to Ion Ghica, comments, "Il y a contre le P-ce Stirbey une formidable opposition composée des éternels membres de l'éternelle société 'ôte-toi de là que je m'y mette.'" The texts are in Rumanian or French; aids include a substantial introduction by the editor, résumés of each docu-

ment, notes, and index. This is a well-edited, informative, and more than usually interesting contribution.

Columbia University

HENRY L. ROBERTS

NATIONALISM AND COMMUNISM IN MACEDONIA. By *Evangelos Kofos*. [Institute for Balkan Studies, Publication Number 70.] (Thessalonike: the Institute. 1964. Pp. xx, 251.) Mr. Kofos has had access to hitherto unavailable sources, primarily the archives of the Greek Foreign Ministry for the period 1940-1950. In these archives he found not only diplomatic dispatches but intelligence reports, documents of the guerrilla army, and the monitoring of clandestine and official transmitters. He also made use of the materials of the Institute for Balkan Studies and, since he reads Greek, of published research in that language, much of it sponsored by the institute itself. He also cites Serbo-Croatian, Slavo-Macedonian, and Bulgarian publications, many of which he used in unpublished Greek translations. Thus Kofos provides us with an account of the struggle over Macedonia in the war and postwar period that includes much detailed information not previously available and that, from time to time, places familiar events in a new light. Perhaps the best example of this is the extent to which Belgrade, at the height of the conflict with the Cominform, feared Bulgarian sponsored guerrilla operations in Vardar Macedonia, and the rigorous preventive measures that Tito deemed it necessary to take. At the same time, Kofos' presentation confirms the major role played by the Slavophone minority of northwestern Greece in the so-called Democratic Army of 1946-1949; if anything he understates that role as a consequence of uncritical use of Greek ethnic data and his conviction that there was no such thing as a Slavo-Macedonian nationalism prior to 1950. Unfortunately, Kofos did not have the advantage of guidance and criticism from someone familiar with the strict standards of scholarly research and presentation. His footnotes and his bibliography leave something to be desired; there are, for example, many interesting statements (and even paragraphs) that remain undocumented, as in the statement on page 192 that in 1949 and 1950 the Yugoslavs were forced to shift troops from the Greek to the Bulgarian frontier. The author's use of the English language is not always what it should be, and the proofreading ought to have been done a second time. There is also a marked bias in favor of official Greek positions. Nevertheless, with all its faults, *Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia* is a useful contribution, which future students of the Macedonian problem will have to use extensively, if cautiously.

Radio Free Europe

R. V. BURKS

A RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHE: ALEXANDER RADISHCHEV, 1749-1802. By *Allen McConnell*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1964. Pp. ix, 228. Glds. 24.25.) Alexander Radishchev occupies a prominent place in the history of Russian liberal thought. If Russia can pride itself on an era of enlightenment, Radishchev can be truly regarded as the child of that era. His *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* constitutes a most devastating indictment of the Russian *ancien régime*. Serfdom and administrative corruption were attacked most savagely. Unfortunately, the *Journey* appeared in 1790, at a time when Catherine II was no longer in a mood to toy with liberalism. Warned by the rebellious American colonies and mortified by the French Revolution, the Empress would not tolerate such "subversive masonic literature" as the *Journey*. Radishchev, according to Catherine, sought to undermine authority, arouse the masses, and endanger stability; he was a dangerous man. The book was banned, and the author was exiled to Ilimsk, a Siberian town of some 250 people who "lived in forty-five houses and worshipped in one church." Radishchev was rehabilitated by Paul in 1797, though he remained under police surveillance after his return to the capital. During the early months of the reign of Alexander I, he helped draw up reform projects. Discouraged by the

slow progress of reforms, however, Radishchev committed suicide in 1802. Radishchev stands out in modern Russian history as one of the early champions and victims in the long struggle for political freedom and social justice. The *Journey* was written because Radishchev's "soul was afflicted with the suffering of mankind." A somewhat abridged edition of the *Journey* was published 115 years after its original appearance. A complete two-volume text accompanied by excellent commentaries did not appear until 1935. Since 1917 numerous monographic studies and articles on Radishchev have been published in the Soviet Union. In 1959 David M. Lang's admirable work, *The First Russian Radical: Alexander Radishchev*, appeared, now followed by Allen McConnell's study of Radishchev as the Russian philosophe. The latter study adds little that is startlingly new. The work is accompanied by a "select bibliography," which includes major works and a mass of references in periodical literature. Why the author had to include in a "select bibliography" such general works as that of Svatikov, Masaryk, and Zenkovsky, or incorporate the bulky thirty-two-volume set of Vorontsov's archive is somewhat puzzling.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

CONSERVATIVE NATIONALISM IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA. By Edward C. Thaden. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 271. \$9.50.) Russia, as any other country, had its share of superpatriots, xenophobes, and religious zealots. From the fifteenth-century monk, Philotheos, who envisioned Moscow as the Third Rome, to the twentieth-century overprocurator, C. Pobedonostsev, runs a long line of conservative nationalism rarely dealt with in historical literature. Beginning with the early champions of conservatism, Thaden gradually traces through to the Slavophiles and the *pochvenniki* (soil lovers) or agrarian patriots. Closely associated with these are men such as Dostoevski, who envisioned a humanitarian mission for Russia, and N. Danilevskii, author of the much-discussed *Russia and Europe*. A third part of the book is devoted to the epigoni of Slavophilism, such as Ivan Aksakov, Iurii Samarin, and others. The views concerning the western borderlands, Roman Catholicism, or the Jewish minority serve to indicate the blind alley into which Slavophilism and conservatism led themselves by the last quarter of the past century. After the emancipation of the serfs the nation came to face different and most complex issues hardly grasped by many nationalists. Among the latter were men like R. Fadeev and C. Leont'ev who preceded by two generations Oswald Spengler in his speculations about Europe's twilights. Leont'ev already predicted the polarization of world power between Russian autocracy and American democracy. Societies, he believed, are like individuals or plants, destined to go through three stages: "(1) primary simplicity; (2) flowering complexity; and (3) confused simplicity." Rapid economic changes familiar to other nations led Russian society to numerous bewildering problems, in search of solutions that at times showed the "confused state of simplicity." Of the various nationalist groups and individuals some advocated submission to autocratic despotism; others were ready to accept political oppression and social injustice as long as these would effectively arrest the advance of Western ideologies and assure the triumph of "Byzantinism" (Leont'ev). By the turn of the century the trend produced such unsophisticated, ponderous thinkers as Pobedonostsev. The understanding of Russian conservative nationalism explains in part the cause of the decline and eventual collapse of the *ancien régime* in Russia. These leaders were mostly noted for their faith though they badly lacked historical perception; they demonstrated adequate courage, but were woefully destitute of originality. For this they paid dearly in the end, as the author succinctly shows in his conclusion. Students of nineteenth-century Russia should read Thaden's brief and highly fascinating story.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

MISSION TO TURKESTAN: BEING THE MEMOIRS OF COUNT K. K. PAHLEN, 1908-1909. Edited and introduced by *Richard A. Pierce*. Translated by *N. J. Couriss*. [Published in association with the Central Asian Research Centre.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964. Pp. xv, 241. \$5.60.) In 1908 Tsar Nicholas II sent Count K. K. Pahlen to investigate the administration of Russia's Central Asiatic colonies. The diligent official and his staff compiled a twenty-volume report. More than a decade later, in exile, Pahlen recorded his personal memories of the year spent traveling between the Caspian and China. *Mission to Turkestan* adds little or nothing to what was previously known about the area or the Russian colonial administration there. The book does, however, provide an extraordinary view of the mind of a tsarist official, revealing his attitudes toward "the natives," showing the surprisingly narrow limits of his knowledge and the depth of his assorted prejudices. The Muslims, Pahlen writes, believed "that women, like animals, have no souls. . . ." He mentions with horror that Muslim religious law permitted a husband to strike his wife, seemingly unaware that so did St. Paul. He says that the institution of the family did not exist among the Muslims; he would have been surprised to learn that the Muslims thought the same thing about the Russians. Further on Pahlen writes: "History was restricted [in Muslim schools] to a detailed account of the life of Allah, to the spread of his teachings and the growth of his empire." Apparently the good Count confused God with Mohammed. Pahlen was convinced of the superiority of the "Aryan race" to which he attributed various virtues not possessed by lesser breeds. In this respect the Baltic nobleman was more typical of Western Europeans than of the Russians. Superiority and might justified conquest. Pahlen regretted the moderating influence of Russian diplomats who prevented the generals from acquiring even more territory in the East. Yet Pahlen had his better qualities. Like many another colonial official he was concerned for the well-being of "the natives," he fought corruption, and he believed in Russia's "civilizing mission." Indeed Russian rule was less corrupt and much more humane than that of the emir of Bukhara, the khan of Khiva, or the dozens of Turkomanic chieftains. Pahlen does not hide the defects of Russian administration or the mistreatment of the local populations by Russian officials and colonists, yet he emphasizes the positive elements of Russian rule: the establishment of order and uniform law, security, equitable taxation, and economic growth. Pahlen wrote his reminiscences in German from which they have been translated by N. J. Couriss. Since the original has not been published, one cannot say much about the accuracy of the translation, but it reads well. Both the translator and the editor, Richard A. Pierce, author of an excellent study on Central Asia, deserve gratitude for making available in English this fascinating document.

Yale University

F. KAZEMZADEH

LA SOCIÉTÉ SOVIÉTIQUE, 1917-1964. By *Pierre Sorlin*. [Collection U, Series "Histoire contemporaine."] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1964. Pp. 279.) This "elementary manual for beginners" (at the *Instituts d'Études politiques*) deliberately and, on the whole, successfully, concentrates on basic facts of Soviet social development commonly neglected or overlooked in the political accounts; it treats them with commendable boldness yet fully aware that all conclusions must remain tentative. The author, who takes a wide view of what falls under the scope of social history, is on solid ground in respect to demographic trends, occupational distribution, social security benefits, income levels, family budgets, and the standard of living; he also has a good eye for regional variations. His statistics are drawn from Soviet sources yet interpreted according to the conclusions of Western observers. Sociologists will miss certain topical aspects: Mr. Sorlin does not discuss the problem of social stratification in a "classless society" or the emergence of a "new class." He says, however, that in European Russia and the Ukraine (although not in Siberia) a genuine working class has come into exist-

ence capable of forcing concessions from the government (at least in 1956). The book is meant to be read in conjunction with the political accounts; it needs implementation from all other fields of Soviet studies. And it needs correction too. Stalinism, for instance, appears merely as an indirect consequence of World War II. As for the 1930's, Sorlin's summary is strangely rosy: "le tableau est au total sympathique, la physionomie de la société soviétique paraît harmonieuse." The suppression of public opinion at the time appears out of the blue, and the changed policy toward family and marriage is ascribed merely to the population decline resulting from the Five-Year Plans and forced collectivization. The most attractive feature of this book lies in its pedagogical devices. It puts, for instance, its conclusions in bold type and offers graphs and maps that tell their story at a glance; it appends to every chapter a document for an *explication du texte* as well as suggestions for further study that list not only scholarly works but novels and films as well. Among the appendixes, the bibliography, although somewhat haphazard, excels by its international coverage. Everything considered, this book can hold its own in any comparison with similar texts in the US.

Washington University

THEODORE H. VON LAUE

SOVIET STRATEGY AT THE CROSSROADS. By *Thomas W. Wolfe*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 342. \$5.95.) The enigma that is Russia today may be insoluble, but diligent Western scholars have at least succeeded in opening cracks in the wall surrounding the processes of decision making inside the Kremlin. Mr. Wolfe's careful analysis of the development of Soviet military policy and strategy since the Cuban crisis of October 1962 contributes materially to the West's understanding of the formulation of Soviet defense policy. The book is based on authoritative Soviet sources, chiefly Marshal V. D. Sokolovskii's *Soviet Military Strategy* and a judicious selection of articles in Soviet military-historical journals and official publications. Wolfe concludes, among other things, that the great technological advances since World War II have compelled the Soviet political and military leaders to abandon the Communist dogma that war is inevitable and replace it with a policy of peaceful co-existence. This conclusion is strengthened by his detailed comparison of the 1962 edition with the 1963 revision of Sokolovskii's standard work. "Peaceful coexistence" in Soviet terminology includes a variety of militant and subversive actions ranging from insurgency to so-called wars of liberation and missile blackmail. These actions have in common the aim of advancing the Communist cause while avoiding a general nuclear war. In the case of Cuba the USSR's policy met with a serious reverse, the far-reaching consequences of which led to the renewal of an intense internal debate on the future course of Soviet strategy. This debate, still in progress, is being conducted between the political and military leaders of the Soviet Union. The author points out that it is influenced by an awareness of the destructiveness of nuclear war, problems related to the allocation of resources, and the Sino-Soviet rift. Issues that still remain unresolved in the continuing debate between "traditionalists" and "modernists" are: the size and composition of peacetime forces; their mission to serve as a deterrent or as an adequate force in time of war; the kind of war—short or protracted—to be expected; the prospects of survival under conditions of nuclear war; the respective weight of strategic missile and conventional land forces required in a potential war against a powerful overseas adversary; the military use of space; and, most importantly, the development of a winning strategy. The author concludes that the *détente* following the Cuban crisis has left the world in a state of instability. At a time when the Soviet leaders are attempting to formulate strategy adapted to the internal and external needs of the Soviet Union, there are prospects for increased cooperation and communication between the two great nuclear powers. Thus, ways may be found to help in keeping the East-West conflict under control. Those who shape US defense policy should read this

book. The historian, whose task of recording and interpreting current events is growing ever more complicated, will want the book among his reference works not so much because it answers questions that are vital to the future of the United States, but because it defines some of the vital issues.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES V. P. VON LUTTICHAU

Near East

DIE GRENZEN DES IRAK: HISTORISCHE UND RECHTLICHE ASPEKTE DES IRAKISCHEN ANSPRUCHS AUF KUWAIT UND DES IRAKISCH-PERSISCHEN STREITES UM DEN SCHATT AL-ARAB. Volumes I and II, DOKUMENTEN-ANHANG. By *Ulrich Gehrke* and *Gustav Kuhn*. [Darstellungen zur auswärtigen Politik, Number 2 (I and II).] (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer. 1963. Pp. ix, 352; iv, 112. DM 42 the set.) Written at the instance of a German line sailing to the Persian Gulf, these two volumes provide an exhaustive study of two frontier problems of particular interest to the shipping trade. One is the claim of Iraq to the territory of oil rich Kuwait at the northwest corner of the gulf. The other is the extent to which Iraq is legally entitled to control the waters of the Shatt-al-Arab, the "Arab throat," which funnels the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates into the gulf and also serves as an anchorage for vessels calling at Abadan, site of the great Iranian oil refinery. In each case Ulrich Gehrke presents the history of the dispute, and Gustav Kuhn follows with an examination of the legal issues at stake. Both authors stress that the two disputes had been smoldering long before they were fanned so violently by the Iraqi government of Abdul Karim Qasim (1958-1963). Uncertainties over the frontiers of Kuwait, for example, may be traced to the era before World War I, when Iraq was part of the Ottoman Empire. And Iraqi economic concern with Kuwait dates back to the days before oil was discovered there, and the main matter at stake was the use of Kuwait as a base for smuggling into Iraq. The two authors garnish their account not only with generous footnotes to the principal studies and official compilations available in Western languages but also with a volume of documents, all of which are in either English or French.

University of Rochester

JOHN B. CHRISTOPHER

Africa

BOSTON UNIVERSITY PAPERS IN AFRICAN HISTORY. Volume I. Edited by *Jeffrey Butler*. (Boston: Boston University Press. 1964. Pp. vii, 270. \$6.00.) Most of the ten studies in this volume were presented to a history seminar at Boston University in connection with the African Studies Program. The papers illustrate the depth and intensity of the work on Africa's past that is now being done by scholars on both sides of the Atlantic and will be of considerable interest to African specialists. Joseph Greenberg demonstrates how inferences of use to the historian can be gained from linguistic research in sub-Saharan Africa. John D. Fage presents information on the empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai between the tenth century and 1591. Graham Irwin has a very suggestive essay on the use of European sources to illuminate the history of tropical Africa. He argues that many problems of African history can only be solved by scholars equally at home in these records and in the oral traditions and archaeology of Africa. John D. Hargreaves makes a critical comparison of the colonization of Liberia and Sierra Leone to about 1870. He finds that surprisingly little research has been done on Liberian history. Alan R. Booth presents the activity of our African squadron from 1843 to 1861 as directed much more toward the fostering of trade than

the pursuit of slavers; it was hardly a success as an instrument for the suppression of the slave trade. Richard Pankhurst examines the failure of Italian colonization schemes in Eritrea between 1889 and 1896: life there was disappointing to the settlers, and expropriation of land provoked resistance by the local inhabitants. Norman R. Bennett describes the work of the Church Missionary Society in running a center for freed slaves near Mombasa between 1873 and 1894. Most of these former slaves were captured by the British at sea in an effort to stop the export of slaves from the sultan of Zanzibar's dominions on the African mainland. Many disputes arose when the society gave refuge to fugitive slaves. Robert I. Rotberg has a very illuminating paper on the role of missionaries as chiefs and entrepreneurs in Northern Rhodesia between 1882 and 1924. Secular affairs, such as direct government, administering of corporal punishment, and trade, occupied much of their time. Laurence Salomon's study on the economic background of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa indicates that the Afrikaners were overrepresented in hazardous and low-status occupations and underrepresented in high-prestige and high-salary occupations. Jeffrey Butler deals with the British dilemma in South Africa in trying to protect native rights and to conciliate the Dutch. His paper is based largely on Sir Alfred Milner's memorandum of 1897 and the responses that the memorandum elicited in London.

Colgate University

WILLIAM C. ASKEW

A HISTORY OF MODERN EGYPT AND ANGLO-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS, 1800-1956. By John Marlowe. (2d ed.; Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1965. Pp. 468. \$10.00.) The Archon Book Publishing Company is to be congratulated for its efforts to reissue important books, including those in the field of international relations. Their first selection in the Middle Eastern area, H. W. V. Temperley's *England and the Near East: The Crimea*, was admirable. This selection has been followed by another worthy work, certainly deserving of reprinting: John Marlowe's *History of Modern Egypt and Anglo-Egyptian Relations*, originally published in 1954. The second edition is substantially unchanged except for a postscript bringing the narrative to the Suez Canal crisis of 1956. These kind remarks must be prefaced, however, with some indications of what the book does not do and what some of its intrinsic limitations are. It is essentially a work based on European secondary sources, mostly written by British officials who served in Egypt or by interested European observers of events there. It has not drawn at all, at least to my knowledge, on any Arabic sources or even on the rather considerable recent Western-language literature that has utilized Arabic sources. Much of this latter body of material, of course, appeared after the original publication of the work. It is regrettable, even though understandable, that the findings of this literature were not integrated in this second edition. The result is that the picture of the internal development of Egyptian society is incomplete. To give but two examples, the dynamics of Egyptian nationalism are not fully presented, and the Muslim Brotherhood is treated altogether too superficially. These inadequacies also impair the treatment of England's relations with Egypt throughout these years, admittedly the central focus of the book. It is difficult, for instance, to present and analyze the treaty negotiations between Egyptian politicians and the English government in the 1920's and 1930's purely on the basis of European sources, and, indeed, on European writers who had little knowledge, if any, of Arabic. The book is still, nevertheless, a useful reference work in modern Egyptian history. The student can go to it and find the major lines of domestic development in Egypt in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These domestic changes are skillfully interwoven with Egypt's foreign policy and its relationship with England. The reader can also trace there the story of Britain's interests in Egypt and the various techniques used to protect these interests. The book really proves how well one can write seriously about modern Egypt on the basis of a careful reading of European

sources alone. Until another general work appears, which has the virtue of integrating the vast European literature on Egypt with Arabic works, it will probably remain the standard work in English on Great Britain's relations with Egypt.

Princeton University

ROBERT L. TIGNOR

WORLD DITCH: THE MAKING OF THE SUEZ CANAL. By *John Marlowe*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1964. Pp. xvii, 294. \$7.50.) The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 after over a half century of planning and negotiations by French politicians, promoters, and scientists. It is these efforts, carried on in the face of British opposition and the extremely complex relations between Egypt and its theoretical suzerain, the Ottoman Empire, that are the principal subject of this book. Its author, John Marlowe, is an Englishman who already has a half-dozen historical books on the Near and Middle East to his credit. The heart of the book is the period between the time Ferdinand de Lesseps obtained a concession for the construction of a canal from Mohammed Said, viceroy of Egypt, in 1854, and the completion of the canal fifteen years later. Marlowe provides adequate background, however, on canal plans and efforts since Pharaonic times, and there is some account of events after 1869 until the British gained control of the waterway in 1882. The author writes with vigor and assurance, and his narrative of diplomatic negotiations is especially lively and lucid. By contrast, the two chapters dealing with actual construction are less complete than one might wish. Throughout the book there are notable variations in the detail with which topics are treated, variations not always readily explicable. Thus the account of the ceremonies at the opening of the canal is exceedingly full, but the consequences of the completion of the canal and its impact on shipping and economic and political affairs in general are neglected. The footnotes and rather brief bibliography indicate that Marlowe has used manuscripts in the British and French archives as well as published sources, the latter mainly the journals and papers of Lesseps, and secondary works. A more complete treatment of the subject would almost certainly have required the use of other materials, but for the diplomatic exchanges which are the central theme of this book, the sources used seem adequate. A sketch map and eight pages of plates, the latter mainly portraits of individuals, illustrate the book.

Pomona College

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE

NATIONALISM AND REVOLUTION IN EGYPT: THE ROLE OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD. By *Christina Phelps Harris*. [Hoover Institution Publications.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. for the Institution. 1964. Pp. 276. Glds. 22.) Some of the ground this book treads is new to most students of the contemporary era. Even for those concerned with developments in the Middle East this work is likely to open doors heretofore closed or only slightly ajar because, as the author has observed, "The organization [the brotherhood] always refrained from giving any detailed knowledge to the public concerning its activities." As becomes apparent in this account, even now it is possible to know with considerable assurance what matters were discussed and acted upon in meetings of the organization only through a careful analysis of the activities exposed to the public. Perhaps for this reason the author found it useful to devote more than half of the book to the background within which the Muslim Brotherhood came into existence, ventured to extremes, and finally, in a contest for power with a revolutionary state, was officially proscribed. The author has made conscientious use of every known source and has obtained some information not usually available to historians. There still may be room, however, for some difference of opinion on a few topics included by way of background. Since, for example, British "reforms" in Egypt either were in the British interest or were not averse to it, a question might be raised as to the net advantages of the perennial irrigation program. Mahmud Samy Pasha, once Egyptian

minister to the United States, who had some training as an irrigation engineer and whose view deserves consideration, was convinced that perennial irrigation, with its accompaniment of disease—bilharziasis, in particular—and its requirement of costly imported fertilizers, was no boon to Egypt. For this and other reasons, one may wonder whether or not the British occupation in general was as advantageous to Egypt as most British authors would have one believe and as seems to be implicit in Chapter II of the present work. Such questions, nevertheless, should not conceal the fact that, in an overall sense, Professor Harris has done an admirable piece of work. Indeed, her final chapter, "The End of the Struggle?" could have been written only by a mature and prescient scholar. The book ends with an impressive selected bibliography, including official documents, books, and pamphlets both in Western languages and in Arabic, and articles in newspapers and periodicals. These give testimony to the author's grasp of the subject.

American University

HALFORD L. HOSKINS

ÉGYPTE: SOCIÉTÉ MILITAIRE. By *Anouar Abdel-Malek*. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil. 1962. Pp. 379. \$4.75.) Written by an Egyptian intellectual residing in Paris, this study aims at an analysis of "Egyptian military society" as it has developed since 1952. After a historical introduction that deals extensively with the background since Mohammed Ali and specifically after the revolution of 1919, Part I treats the means of production and the revolutionary government's policy with regard to them during the period covered. The land reform laws are analyzed, and the position of the quickly developing sector of light and heavy industry is investigated. Both are treated in terms of their social implications. When assessing the role of private capital in modern Egypt, the author notes that the state actually has interfered only since 1958 and that it was only in 1961 that the old bourgeoisie received deadly blows through widening nationalization. Part II gives a penetrating account of the ideological issues facing the regime, for which the ideas of neutralism, Arab nationalism, and Arab socialism were used or, in any case, coined. There is, in fact, no coherent ideology since the government suppressed free expression of opinion and indeed persecuted existing intellectual elites as well as the powerful Muslim Brotherhood. In the course of time, however, the military government has discovered its need for intellectual support, not only in the form of technicians and administrators, but also to provide a coherent working ideology. Abdel-Malek's sketch of the government's policy with regard to "the thinking part of the nation" deserves close attention and further detailed study. When assessing the experience of the military regime, the author points up the intellectual as well as ideological weaknesses of present-day Egyptian leaders. He himself advocates a socialist solution rather different from Nasser's "Arab socialism." But whatever its point of view, this study is worth attention for its rich documentation, its well-considered arguments, and its adequate sense of Egyptian possibilities and impossibilities.

University of California, Los Angeles

JACQUES WAARDENBURG

BRITAIN, THE SAHARA, AND THE WESTERN SUDAN, 1788-1861. By *A. Adu Boahen*. [Oxford Studies in African Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 268. \$5.60.) In tracing British activities in Northwestern Africa during 1788-1861, Mr. Boahen has opened up a forgotten period and area of European penetration of Africa. He gives us an account of British exploration and diplomatic activity from the first efforts of the African Association to Heinrich Barth's mission of the 1850's, and explains Britain's reasons both for entering and leaving this area. It emerges from Boahen's story that England was reasonably well informed about such Sudanese kingdoms as Timbuktu and Bornu. Both the government, especially under Lord Palmerston, and unofficial societies put considerable if spasmodic effort into establishing

contacts with them. Boahen notes the mixture of motives—humanitarian, commercial, scientific, and diplomatic—that determined British policies, pointing out that the trans-Saharan slave trade was for a long time ignored and that diplomatic policies toward Turkey tended to decide British action or lack of it. Colonel Hamer Warrington, British consul in Tripoli from 1814 to 1846, played an important role in informing Britain of Saharan and Sudanese developments, and at his suggestion a series of vice-consulates were established in the Sahara. Through them some efforts were made to stop the slave trade by the development of legitimate commerce, though the value of this commerce seems consistently to have been overestimated by the British. The great explorations of Barth were the culmination of the British effort and laid the basis for extensive British influence in the Sudan. Yet at the same time that Barth was engaged in his travels two developments occurred that made Britain decide on withdrawal. The first of these was the discovery of the prophylactic uses of quinine, which made usable the easier river routes to the Sudan from the Guinea coast on the south, the second, the British desire to conciliate the French in the period of the Crimean War and the unification of Italy. French penetration southward from Algeria was thus not challenged. It is interesting to speculate on the might-have-beens of history had Britain agreed to Barth's proposal of an alliance with Timbuktu. Boahen is writing diplomatic history. He has made good use of the British archives and explorers' accounts. As he himself suggests, however, the story will be seriously incomplete until Arabic sources have been much more fully investigated and until we have a more systematic narrative of both the internal political history and the external relations of the Sudanese kingdoms. This volume, like others recently published, indicates how much really is known about the history of Africa, but shows even more clearly how much more work needs to be done.

Smith College

MARGARET L. BATES

MOROCCO—ALGERIA—TUNISIA. By *Richard M. Brace*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1964. Pp. viii, 184. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.) This book is one of a series designed to summarize "the chief historical trends and influences that have contributed to each nation's present-day character, problems and behavior." To fulfill this objective Professor Brace has written a general history of Northwest Africa (the Maghrib). Most criticisms of such a book arise from its superficiality. It is difficult to generalize about the Maghrib. For example, the role of the Berbers, the number of middle-class Arabs, and the sociological impact of *bidonvilles* (tin can towns) need to be analyzed for each of the three countries. Omissions are found that should not appear even in a general work. We read: "Tunisian liberal forces raised demands for a constitution in 1856, but this effort proved stillborn." This statement ignores the ensuing fundamental pact of 1857 which guaranteed some basic rights and the constitution of 1861 which was applauded in Europe as a liberal document. Furthermore, the "liberal forces" referred to were European consuls and officials and not primarily Tunisians. No distinction is drawn between the internal autonomy given to the Tunisians by the conventions of 1955 and independence granted by the protocol of 1956. Neither does the book mention the Thionville speech of Foreign Minister Schuman although it was vital to the whole Tunisian nationalist cause. When Brace describes German influence in Morocco, he represents Kaiser William II as enthusiastic in resisting French penetration. The German documents show that the Emperor was reluctant and even accused his aids of tricking him into a dangerous visit to Tangier in 1905. One must seriously question whether such a large subject should be treated so briefly. The historian will

not find this work as satisfactory as Brace's earlier book, *Ordeal in Algeria* (with his wife as coauthor).

DePauw University

DWIGHT L. LING

DESTINY OF A DYNASTY: THE SEARCH FOR INSTITUTIONS IN MOROCCO'S DEVELOPING SOCIETY. By *I. William Zartman*. [Studies in International Affairs, Number 3.] ([Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press.] 1964. Pp. xi, 108. Cloth \$3.00, paper \$1.00.) The modernization of political institutions in developing societies is one of the crucial problems in the world today. The adaptation of the traditional structures of power to new requirements has been one of the most effective methods for modernizing a country in the political sphere. Morocco's political development in the twentieth century might well suggest it as an example of a society's adapting its traditional political framework to the needs of the modern world. In particular, although many new institutions have been created, such as parliamentary organs, the monarchy has remained at the center of the modernizing efforts in Morocco. Professor I. William Zartman in his study of political structures and recent developments in Morocco has attempted to analyze the evolution of viable political institutions there, primarily since the period of independence. Unfortunately, he is only partially successful. The book is slight, not nearly so detailed and analytical as a subject of such importance requires. Zartman does provide the reader with a good portrait of Morocco's present constitution and its immediate antecedents. There are useful discussions of the monarchy, the powers and limitations of this office, and the organs of advice and representation. Of particular interest are the analyses of the modernization of judicial machinery and the system of local government. Zartman shows the way in which the Moroccans have striven to adapt many of these traditional institutions, such as local governing offices, to the more demanding requirements of the modern state. In some cases the traditional local bodies have served the needs of the state well and have required only slight modifications. In other cases the state has been forced, either because the traditional institutions did not exist or because they were found unsuitable, to create almost totally new organs of administration on local levels. Essentially the main defect of the book, however, is that it fails to capture the dynamism of change in Moroccan society. What seems to be lacking throughout is a discussion of the transforming forces impelling change. What are the pressures for modernization in Morocco? In what direction do they point? What areas have they affected most decisively? What groups favor change and for what reasons? These questions are largely unanswered.

Princeton University

ROBERT L. TIGNOR

EAST AFRICAN UNITY THROUGH LAW. By *Thomas M. Franck*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 184. \$5.50.) Professor Franck, with a background of experience gained in serving East African governments, discusses the movement for closer union in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika. He begins with a brief historical survey of the East African past to illustrate the many similarities in the region's institutions arising from their common colonial experience. Unfortunately the pre-World War I analysis is marred by factual errors and by faulty interpretations, but once past general background, the author is on firmer ground. His discussion of the various commissions investigating federation and their failures to resolve the issue is illuminating. Closer union came in any case by purely administrative decisions and by measures brought on by World War II. By the 1950's eventual independence for all three territories was certain, but union did not come even though Tanganyika offered to delay its independence until federation. Instead, a new body was necessary, the East African Common Services Organization, to carry on the integrated services

then operating. Franck then examines common loyalties stemming from the common services provided by federal organizations, but rightfully observes that present-day conditions of independence are leading to significant variations in the legal framework of each country. His judgment that an opportunity for union was lost by not acting before independence is probably correct. In all, this survey is a most useful guide for understanding the resistance of East African leaders to calls for immediate unity for all Africa and their preference for gradual progress toward regional unity as a first step to a broader eventual design.

Boston University

NORMAN BENNETT

POLITICAL AWAKENING IN THE BELGIAN CONGO. By *René Lemarchand*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1964. Pp. x, 357. \$7.95.) The Belgian Congo has frequently been described as a single whole held together by a colonial policy whose object was to create a unified state to match its solid, bulbous shape on the map of Africa. This unity was, and still remains, however, more apparent than real, and Professor Lemarchand has properly torn away the façade of Belgian colonial policy to expose the deep divisions within that unity which the institutions of Belgian rule outwardly symbolized but internally worked against. This is the importance of Lemarchand's book for the historian of colonial Africa. His analysis of "The Colonial Situation" (Part II) leaves the reader in doubt that the centralized colonial framework of the Congo was designed to eradicate the separatist tendencies in existence, particularly in the Katanga, since the founding of the Congo Free State. The analysis is clear, the explanations lucid, and the conclusions devastating. A divided Congo was the rule; a unified Congo is the exception. Less full but equally clear is the preceding "Historical Background" (Part I). Historians, of course, would have preferred a more thorough investigation of the history of the Congo, but the author is more concerned with the present than the past. "The Development of Political Groups" (Part III) continues the incisive analysis that characterizes his dissection of the colonial administration, and with the help of useful tables he charts a firm course through the jungle of Congolese political parties. As far as it goes, this alone would make his work a most necessary handbook to Congolese politics; when combined with the preceding interpretation of Belgian colonial rule, this book emerges as an indispensable guide to the republic of the Congo for scholar and layman alike. Unhappily Lemarchand's obsession with political parties cannot, by itself, explain "The Politics of Fragmentation." The role of the *force publique* in shattering Congo unity is only briefly acknowledged and then ignored, apparently in favor of the fourth and final part concerning the "Organization and Functioning of Congolese Parties." Although Lemarchand provides the reader with useful insights on the internal operations of Congolese parties, this section could easily have been included in the third part. By itself Part IV is not only an anticlimax but hopelessly dull and hardly warrants such special treatment. The author admits as much in his conclusion when he laments that "With very few exceptions, party activities have lapsed into a state of limbo. . . ." Meanwhile, the reader wants to know what happened to the army and why, but he never finds out. To have disregarded the actions of the *force publique* appears a most peculiar way to describe the disintegration of the Congo and seriously compromises the high standard of interpretation found in the earlier pages. The lack of maps is astonishing, and the absence of a bibliography is quite inexcusable in a work that will clearly be used as a starting point for further research on Congo politics. Yet in spite of its anticlimax and its serious omissions, a work with such a happy combination of a balanced and just critique of Belgian colonial rule with a unique and comprehensive introduction to the mysteries of Congolese political parties will be welcomed by the African historian and political scientist alike.

Williams College

ROBERT O. COLLINS

TRADE CASTLES AND FORTS OF WEST AFRICA. By *A. W. Lawrence*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1964. Pp. 389. \$10.00.) Although using extensive documentary evidence, the author, an eminent archaeologist, relies primarily on material remains to describe the construction and history of European fortified trading stations between 1482 and the abolition of the slave trade. The superb 158 plates and 47 text figures of building plans contribute significantly to the narrative. Stress is on the Gold Coast; here almost 80 pages and 55 illustrations deal with Elmina while 179 pages consider 17 other fortified stations in the same area, an area of 300 miles where "roughly a hundred trading-posts (castles, forts, and lesser posts) existed at one time or another, and most of them contemporaneously." With excellently arranged and usually copious treatments Professor Lawrence has shown the changes in the lives of these trading communities—Portuguese, English, Dutch, French, Spanish, Brandenburger, Danish, Swedish, and Courlander—as recorded in the buildings these Europeans erected for defense and stores. The book also depicts the organization and personnel of the fortified stations as well as contacts with African markets. Although patently abiding by his resolve of not writing a history of European contact, the author proves the fortified stations' usual failure to provide security for European administrators and traders. The stations had grave problems in disease, dilapidation, and maintenance cost; moreover, boredom, drunkenness, and brawling were common. This scholarly narrative raises few doubts. Perhaps there should have been a fuller treatment of Bissau and Cacheu whose external walls are preserved. Omitted is the fact that important remains of Fort St. Louis are incorporated in the archival buildings of the former French government of Senegal. One may wonder whether the author has overemphasized the impact of the fortified stations on the life of the alien peoples who surrounded them. In the final analysis, this book is magisterial in buttressing its theme of giving an archaeologist's side light on history.

University of Dayton

ERVING E. BEAUREGARD

YORUBA WARFARE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *J. F. Ade Ajayi* and *Robert Smith*. (New York: Cambridge University Press in association with the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. 1964. Pp. x, 160. \$6.00.) This book marks still another stage in the growing maturity of African history. Recent work on West Africa during the century before the European conquests has shown Afro-European relations in a new perspective. The authors now move on to a monographic study of a functioning African society, with European influence present only on the fringes. Their volume is made up of two interconnected studies of Yoruba warfare, with concentration on the middle decades of the century. Mr. Smith's contribution takes up military organization, military architecture, tactics, and strategy during the whole period of the Yoruba Wars from 1820 to 1893. The topical chapters are illustrated by brief studies of four battles: Oshogbo (ca. 1840), Ikirun (1878), the siege of Abeokuta (1851), and the siege of Ijaye (1860–1862). Professor Ajayi, on the other hand, is interested in the interrelations of war and politics. His monograph on the Ijaye War of 1860–1865 is principally concerned with the attitudes and abilities of individual leaders, Yoruba diplomacy, and the relations between warfare and the fortunes of Yoruba society as a whole. The two studies together are a substantial contribution, a readable account based on meticulous scholarship. They show, among other things, that Yoruba warfare was far from the random slave raiding of the older, ethnocentric European historiography. The Yoruba city-states fought over issues that were as crucial to them as the issues of warfare elsewhere in the world. This was, of course, only to be expected: the authors' most valuable innovation is to show how much detailed African political history can be reconstructed from a critical use of European sources supplemented by oral traditions.

University of Wisconsin

PHILIP D. CURTIN

A HISTORY OF THE GAMBIA. By *Harry A. Gailey*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965. Pp. xi, 244.) This is an excellent case study of the imperialistic process and the impact of nationalism on Africa in the period since World War II. The Gambia was one of Britain's oldest colonies and the last one in West Africa to become independent (February 1965). Its future is most uncertain since, as the author points out: "The two courses of action left to the Gambia are independence or association with the Senegal." He goes on to say that the majority of influential Gambians "prefer immediate independence with a long range approach to eventual amalgamation with their neighbor." The author traces the history of the Gambia from the fifteenth century with emphasis on the period since 1889. Within the limits imposed by the scanty records provided by the Gambians he has dealt adequately with the peoples of the area. The European sources have been exploited skillfully as attested by the careful documentation that accompanies each chapter. The bibliography, however, could be improved by the inclusion of a critical evaluation of the sources. Chapter v, "The Lure of Exchange," is of particular interest since it deals with the abortive proposal considered by Britain and France to consolidate their holdings in West Africa by trading colonies. This proposal, if consummated, would have made the Gambia a part of the Senegal. The project is explained in detail in John D. Hargreaves, *Prelude to the Partition of West Africa* (1963). This study is not cited, probably because it appeared too late. The political, economic, and financial aspects of Gambian history are discussed authoritatively. The concluding chapter provides an excellent analysis of the rise of Gambian nationalism. The book is well written, effectively organized, and a worthy addition to African historiography.

Temple University

ARTHUR N. COOK

DIE HERVERTOLKING VAN ONS GESKIEDENIS: REFERATE GEREËL DEUR DIE KOMITEE VIR WETENSKAPLIKE AANGELEENTHEDE AAN DIE UNIVERSITEIT VAN SUID-AFRIKA. By *F. A. van Jaarsveld et al.* [Communication of the University of South Africa, Number B.19.] (Pretoria: the University, 1963. Pp. 104. 90 cents.) *The Reinterpretation of Our History*, edited by F. A. van Jaarsveld, contains four essays in Afrikaans, with short summaries in English: "Interpretation and Reinterpretation in Historical Writing," by the editor; "The Late Eighteenth Century," by Theo van Wijk; "The Great Trek," by C. F. J. Muller; and "A Revaluation of the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," by G. D. Scholtz. All the essays are interesting, showing analytical skill and devotion to high scholarly standards. The editor particularly shows an admirable desire to move away from the national hagiography so frequently produced by Afrikaner historians in the past. He is, moreover, aware of the new themes in African history: "[African] political movements [and] struggles for independence . . . can be studied in their own right, as can many other questions about racial contact and racial attitudes, which can bring more clearly to the foreground the role of the nonwhite in the history of our country." There is generous acknowledgment of the work of the liberal historians MacMillan, De Kiewiet, and Marais. Muller on the Great Trek, a sensitive topic for Afrikaners, shows both an interest in American frontier historians, and in a detached approach: "It will not do for the Afrikaner historian to emphasize that the expansion of the Trekkers . . . can be justified on the ground of the development of the *Afrikanervolk* or to postulate a special calling to extend a Christian Western civilization. That many Trekkers believed it does not mean that the Afrikaner can take it as an axiom in his historical writing." For a group of historians who acknowledge the influence on research of the problems facing a society, these scholars, particularly Scholtz, appear to be ignoring some of the major issues facing Afrikaners today. It is Turner among American historians, rather than Turner and C. Vann Woodward, who interests them. Scholtz's essay seems to be devoted to two main

propositions: that Afrikaners have achieved unity and dominance in a single state, an "inevitable" result of Union in 1910; and that all South African governments in the nineteenth century were responsible for the creation of the African urban proletariat, "the real native problem." The implication that urbanization could have been avoided, and that the rural proletariat is any less of a "problem," has its origin in an ethnocentric approach that is largely absent elsewhere in these papers.

Wesleyan University

JEFFREY BUTLER

Asia and the East

KAKYO: CHŪKOKU NO SHIKEN JIGOKU [The Civil Service Examination System: The Examination Hell of China]. By *Ichisada Miyazaki*. (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Sha. 1963. Pp. 221. 200¥.) Dr. Ichisada Miyazaki, well known to many American students of Chinese history, is professor of Chinese history at Kyoto University and the author of many authoritative works on the socioeconomic and institutional history of traditional China. He has published two monographs on the subject of the government service examination system of Imperial China, one early in 1946 and the other in 1963. The present book is the most comprehensive narrative treatment in any language on that enduring achievement of Chinese civilization. The work is actually broader in scope than its title indicates. The civil service examinations were but one of three types of examinations constituting the government service examination system, the other two being the military service examinations and the *chih-k'o*, a sort of higher civil service examination system. All three types are treated in Miyazaki's book. Because the most important of the three was the civil service examination system, the author justifiably devotes four-fifths of his book to describing it as it operated chiefly in the Ch'ing period. In so doing he fully conveys the lifelong struggle of the examinees who in their fifties and sixties finally received the highest degree of *chin-shih* (presented scholar). Cheating and collusion between examiner and examinee were two ever-present evils. To eliminate them, even more examinations were added during the long existence of the civil service examination system (587-1904) with the result that from the time of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor of the eighteenth century the most ambitious applicants had to contend with eleven examinations, including the four for earning and maintaining the degree of *sheng-yüan* (government student). In Chapter xvi, which is interpretive rather than descriptive, the author evaluates the complex civil service examination system, discussing its strengths, weaknesses, and social implications, but his generalizations in that chapter are not new. This book's virtue is that it enables the reader to understand both the hold that the knowledge of the Confucian classics had on traditional Chinese society and the "examination hell" that the scholar-officials of Imperial China had to endure. Written in plain modern colloquial Japanese, the work is informative and scholarly, without being stuffy. If it were translated into English, it would be excellent outside reading for a Chinese or East Asian history course.

University of Kansas

RICHARD T. CHANG

COMMISSIONER LIN AND THE OPIUM WAR. By *Hsin-pao Chang*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 18.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 319. \$7.00.) The importance of the Opium War (1839-1842) has been attested by the publication of a six-volume corpus of documents, several special studies by Kuo Pin-chia, Teng Ssu-yü, and Arthur Waley, and this book. Each emphasizes certain aspects of the conflict. It happens that all these authors except Waley are in the United States—a center of Chinese studies. But no one has used Chinese and English sources so extensively as Hsin-pao Chang. Chang has reconfirmed the use of "Opium War," for "there is nothing unfitting about this term and Chinese efforts to stop this trade were the im-

mediate cause of the war." He emphasizes the opium traffic and the part played by Commissioner Lin in the war, ending the book with Lin's dismissal. Chang tells the story from the Chinese as well as the English side. His penetration and lucid presentation of many details from hitherto unused sources give us, in Professor John Fairbank's words in the preface, "a more balanced account of the origin of the Opium War than has ever been available in any language." Chang reveals that William Jardine, a British businessman and a leader of coastal opium smuggling, almost singlehandedly drew up the plans for the English expedition in 1839. He impresses the reader that both Captain Elliot and Lin precipitated the clash, his hero being Lin, who could not successfully suppress the opium traffic using less than the most severe tactics. Even Elliot considered this traffic as one "which every friend to humanity must deplore." Yet Lin's counterparts, while demanding protection and freedom prescribed by international law, did not themselves abide by such law, convoying the contraband trade not only in Canton but along the coast. To Chang the opium crisis alone would have been sufficient to precipitate a war, apart from cultural differences. This excellent book should be required reading for a modern Chinese history course. One may question whether Lin really outshines Tseng Kuo-fan, Li Hung-chang, and other nineteenth-century Chinese statesmen in stature and influence. And the loss of more than nine million taels from the imperial treasury was in 1843 not 1841. This reveals the occasional use of secondary sources without checking the *Ching-shih lu*. The author says he could not "obtain the Chinese version" of the "bond" that foreign traders were demanded to sign pledging no opium smuggling. Is there not an abridged version in *I-wu shih-mo* and a complete version in *Hsin-chi lu*? This oversight, however, could happen to any author.

Indiana University

S. Y. TENG

UNE CRISE FINANCIÈRE À SHANGHAI À LA FIN DE L'ANCIEN RÉGIME. Texts presented, translated and annotated by *Marie-Claire Bergère*. [Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. Matériaux pour l'étude de la Chine moderne et contemporaine, Textes, Number 3.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1964. Pp. 84.) LA RÉFORME AGRAIRE EN CHINE POPULAIRE. By *Chen Chi-Yi*. [Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. Matériaux pour l'étude de la Chine moderne et contemporaine, Travaux, Number 1.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1964. Pp. 150.) *Une crise financière* is a brief essay, accompanied by reproduced, translated, and annotated Chinese texts, that suggestively analyzes the social and economic crisis that spread from Shanghai to other Chinese commercial centers late in 1910 following the failure of many local *ch'ien-chuang*—or "native banks," as they were then generally known. Chinese speculators in Shanghai had been deeply involved in the boom in rubber shares, had borrowed large sums on unsecured notes from the *ch'ien-chuang*, and suffered heavy losses when the market in rubber shares in Shanghai collapsed in July 1910. The *ch'ien-chuang* found themselves unable to meet their many interlocked commitments: to their depositors, to holders of their circulating bank-notes, to government agencies that deposited treasury accounts, and to the large foreign banks from which the *ch'ien-chuang* had borrowed in order to finance the speculation. The claims of the foreign banks and government agencies were given priorities, with the result that the many *ch'ien-chuang* failures produced a catastrophe for the entire Chinese community. While the bank failures were not a cause of the 1911 revolution against the Ch'ing dynasty, the author suggests they contributed strongly to the alienation of the Chinese bourgeoisie from the old regime and helped to explain the support given by influential elements of the Chinese business class to the revolutionary movement led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The study therefore contributes to an understanding of the role of the bourgeoisie in the 1911 revolution, but it also has the larger value of providing a case study of ways in which Western innovations—in this case, financial and administrative—undermined traditional customs and became factors in the creation of a

revolutionary situation. For its sources, the study exploits one of the more important collections of material on pre-1949 Chinese history published under Chinese Communist auspices: *Shang-hai ch'ien-chuang shih-liao* [Historical Materials on the Shanghai ch'ien-chuang] (1960). Hopefully, it will be the precursor of other studies based on similar materials. *La réforme agraire* summarizes the principal policies and attitudes of the Chinese Communist leadership toward the countryside both before and after 1949 and extends beyond "agrarian reform" (conceived as the redistribution of the large landholdings, generally completed in 1952) to include the Chinese rural cooperatives, collectives, and people's communes, and such related matters as population pressure and technical agricultural reform. The analysis does not continue beyond 1960, and therefore does not consider the retrenchment in the commune movement (1960-1962) and subsequent efforts to revitalize the communes and the collective principle (1962-1964). The author adopts a cautious and guarded approach, taking account of statistical inadequacies, the nonspecific and tautological nature of the official Chinese materials, and the difficulties of maintaining objectivity. The treatment covers ground familiar to specialists in contemporary Chinese affairs and is so brief that it cannot do justice to many aspects of the huge problem, but it is a useful and accurate summary of events.

University of California, Los Angeles H. ARTHUR STEINER

INDIA: A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY. By J. Michael Mahar. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1964. Pp. 119. \$3.50.) Mr. Mahar compiled this bibliography primarily for the college student, who will find it entirely adequate for most undergraduate study if the college library can procure the items listed. It consists of 2,023 entries, both periodical and monographic, covering nine major subjects: "India," "Land and People," "History," "Political Patterns," "Economic Patterns," "Social Patterns," "Religion and Philosophy," "Intellectual and Aesthetic Patterns," and "Education." "History" receives the most extensive treatment with "Religion and Philosophy" next. Most of the works are in English, published since 1940, although earlier works of substantial reference value are included. The compiler has noted significant materials published in 1964 and has consistently cited the latest editions of all works. Brief but adequate annotations accompany each entry. The index is by author only. Each of the major subject sections and several of the subsections are prefaced by brief but informative statements on the subjects. Although there are a number of questionable remarks in these statements, such as the designation of Buddhism and Jainism as "religions of foreign origin," they will be helpful to a student approaching a subject for the first time. Pakistan is covered to some extent, but receives no separate treatment except at the end of the "History" section.

Library of Congress HORACE I. POLEMAN

FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN ANCIENT INDIA. By R. A. Jairazbhoy. (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1963. Pp. vi, 195. \$10.75.) The extent of foreign influence in ancient India is a controversial and largely unexplored field of research. Learned journals contain much information in isolated articles, but a single comprehensive monograph is unavailable. Mr. Jairazbhoy contends that foreign influence on ancient India has been far greater than is generally realized or accepted. Writing almost exclusively of Greece, Rome, and the Near East, he suggests that the influence of these countries can be found in the religion, architecture, drama, philosophy, astronomy, medicine, coinage, town planning, language, and literature of India. At first glance this looks like another in the series of the books of sweeping generalizations that have come from India in recent times. But this is not the case. The work is extremely well documented, and most suppositions are reinforced by concrete illustrations largely of a very convincing nature. There can be no doubt but

that this book makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of this subject. Any discussion, however, dealing with areas and degree of influence necessarily assumes a heavy burden of proof of causal relationship. Too often Jairazbhoy forces coincidental aspects into a causal influence or makes bold unsupported conclusions on the basis of scanty evidence. A pottery piece from Harappa (ca. 1600 B.C.) with a figure holding two horned animals is stated to be the god Indra. But the figure could just as easily be a huntsman with his catch. Nor is there any valid reason to hold that the expansionist policy of Bimbisāra was inspired by the Persians. The *Āśvamedha* sacrifice which was celebrated in part for the expansion of the kingdom was much earlier than Bimbisāra. The relationship of the war god Skanda with Alexander based on the Persian corruption of Sekander is rather forced; the primary meaning in Sanskrit of *skand* is to leap, jump, or spurt out, and this sense appears as early as the Rig-Veda—long before Alexander's invasion. The particular method of his birth also indicates the validity of this name, without relation to Alexander. It is equally unlikely that the doctrine of *ahimsā* was planted in India by the Greeks. The suggestion that the theme of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was borrowed from the *Iliad* is also doubtful, and Jairazbhoy's argument here is rather specious. A number of other influences are suggested merely on the grounds that somewhat similar things occurred in both countries. The temptation for such imaginative speculations in a work such as this is rather strong, and we cannot blame Jairazbhoy very harshly for these excursions especially since most of his work is provocative and generally sound. Plates and especially a bibliography would have improved this book, which has a rather high price.

University of Washington

JOHN W. SPELLMAN

GROWTH OF COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE IN BENGAL (1757-1900). Volume I. By *Benoy Chowdhury*. ([Calcutta:] Indian Studies: Past and Present. 1964. Pp. iv, 217. Rs. 20.00.) Monographic studies in Indian economic history are so few in number that any new contribution must be welcomed. In this first volume of a projected two-volume work, Chowdhury examines the development of opium and indigo cultivation. (His second volume will cover mulberry, sugar cane, jute, cotton, and food grains, and will include a discussion of "the general problems of the growth of commercial agriculture.") The author analyzes in detail the successive changes in policy of the government opium monopoly and their effects on the opium peasants; the role of the agency houses in providing capital for indigo production; and, in the case of both opium and indigo, the devices through which the nominally free labor of the peasant cultivators became in fact largely unfree labor. His work is based on extensive research in unpublished records of the Board of Customs, Salt, and Opium, the Board of Revenue, the Board of Trade, and other government departments. Unfortunately, his presentation of the results of this research leaves much to be desired. The main lines of development tend to be submerged in a mass of detail. The writing is involved, sometimes to the point of obscurity. Little is done to make the story meaningful (or even comprehensible) to the reader who is not already well versed in the complexities of Anglo-Indian economic history.

Sir George Williams University

MARTIN DEMING LEWIS

A RULE OF PROPERTY FOR BENGAL: AN ESSAY ON THE IDEA OF PERMANENT SETTLEMENT. By *Ranajit Guha*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Le monde d'outre-mer passé et présent, First Series. Études, Number 19.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1963. Pp. 222.) Ranajit Guha has given us a superb disquisition in intellectual history. With deft and careful exposition, he has traced the origin and development of the doctrine of "assessment for ever," the central idea in land control that lay behind the formulation of the Perma-

ment Settlement of Bengal. Commencing with the 1770 proposal of Alexander Dow, the Scottish thinker and mercantilist who served the Bengal Army for twenty years, and the 1772 essay of Henry Pattullo, the physiocratic theorist and pamphleteer in France, Guha has skillfully followed twists and turns in the thinking of European proponents and opponents of this doctrine. He has led us from its inception to its incorporation in Pitt's India Act of 1784, its adoption by Thomas Law in the *mukarari* experiments of Bihar, and its codification by Cornwallis as the policy of the East India Company for Bengal, in Regulation I of 1793. But his special concern has been with the personality, politics, and philosophy of Philip Francis, as these relate to arguments about "permanency." He devotes half of the volume to Francis; indeed, more than a third of it deals with Francis' famous "Plan for a Settlement of the Revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa" of 1776. In this he clearly shows how much intellectual capacity and power of the pen was possessed by that very controversial, though rather tragic political figure. Guha has also given us a well-balanced and sensitive treatment of those company servants in Bengal, especially Warren Hastings and John Shore, who fought so vehemently against what they considered to be a harmful and alien doctrine for Bengal, "the right of private property in land." By and large, however, the author has remained consistent. He has presented European ideas rather than Indian ideas. His treatise is mainly about the dialogues, debates, and disputes of Englishmen. Occasional reflections of Bengal can be caught from the eyes of these Britons, but these are colored by other lights, the commingling of many emotions and motives. For this the author cannot be blamed. He has done his work well. He has achieved his purpose. Perhaps, it may be hoped, the day may come when someone will write another essay on the twists and turns of a similar idea in the minds of Bengalis, "A Rule of Property for Bengal."

University of Wisconsin

ROBERT ERIC FRYKENBERG

THE CREATION OF MODERN BIHAR. By *Vijay Chandra Prasad Chaudhary*. ([Khirhar, Darbhanga:] Krishna Chandra Chaudhary. 1964. Pp. iv, 214. Rs. 12.50.) This book has been mistitled. In a study of the creation of modern Bihar one would expect a comparative treatment of traditional Bihar and the growth of the new social, economic, and cultural practices that represent a break from the past. Instead, the author writes about the middle-class Bihar agitation in behalf of the separation of Bihar from Bengal in 1912. He claims to have written a "simple, objective and clear analysis" of Bihar history from 1858 to 1912. This is an unfortunate illusion. The work is a combination polemic and apology, the Biharis always being right in struggles with India's movement toward independence. He attacks the Bengalis for remaining loyal to the British in 1857 when Bihar joined the cause of the Mutiny. Actually the author should realize that the Bihari participation in the Mutiny was negligible. He attacks the British whenever possible, but he continues his polemics against Bengal for failing to separate Bihar, for dominating the public-service appointments, for neglecting the education of Bihar. Actually there is very little trustworthy analysis in the book. I am prepared to accept his admission that from 1858 to 1893 there was no concrete and specific demand that Bihar should be separated. The author also notes that the mass of Biharis were too downtrodden to participate after 1893; then he magnifies the activities of the small group of Bihari middle-class Hindus. And one realizes that the separation was the result of British policy, which never considered the linguistic, cultural, and racial uniqueness of Bihar as justifying the creation of a new state. If the content of the book is a mass of misinformation, bias, and polemics, the style of the work is incredible. Confused syntax, lengthy sentences, misconstructured parallelism, rampant misspelling, and faulty punctuation appear on page after page. It is obvious that this

book was not ready for publication; if the author has any professional conscience, he will destroy the edition and call back as many of the books as possible.

Bowdoin College

GEORGE BEARCE

LORD MINTO AND THE INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, 1905 TO 1910. By *Syed Razi Wasti*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 254. \$4.80.) Hindu-Muslim antagonism was not a major feature of the British-Indian political scene before 1905, except in the Punjab. The partition of Bengal in 1905 into Hindu and Muslim majority provinces, and the subsequent agitation, transformed the relations between the two communities, and each became conscious of its separate identity as it had not been before. Mr. Wasti discusses this transformation and the British reaction to it. He says that in 1906 when the government of India, in the face of a predominantly Hindu agitation against the Bengal partition, accepted the resignation of Lieutenant Governor Fuller, who was known to sympathize with Muslim aspirations and hinted at the expansion of the legislative councils, Muslim leaders decided that their continued political inactivity was endangering Muslim interests. Consequently in 1906 these leaders sent a deputation to the government and founded the All-India Muslim League. The deputation and the league asked the government for separate Muslim representation in the legislative councils. This was granted by the Morley-Minto constitutional reforms of 1909. Wasti argues emphatically that the deputation and the formation of the league were undertaken on the initiative of Muslims alone, and not with secret British inspiration of any sort. The correspondence relevant to this question, between Mohsin-ul-Mulk, W. A. J. Archbold, and Lord Minto's secretary, is printed in an appendix. The author does not discuss the possibility that the Muslim deputation, the Muslim League, and the grant of separate electorates contributed to communalism or demonstrated a failure of British statesmanship. He does not question contemporary Muslim and official views on Hindu-Muslim problems and the unsuitability of representative institutions for India. While most of the book is detached and objective, its value would have been increased by an estimate of the extent and causes of the growing communalism. The author gives the impression that between 1905 and 1910 the creation of Pakistan became inevitable. This was indeed a critical period in Hindu-Muslim relations, but for that reason the developments of those years deserve a more rigorous analysis than they have received. The book is primarily about the emergence of the Muslim League and the evolution of the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909. Wasti has made effective and extensive use of the Morley-Minto correspondence in showing how British parliamentary politics, Indian interests, and personal vanity and prejudices influenced the final shape of the reforms. A thorough study of nationalism and communalism in this period, based upon newspapers and vernacular sources, remains to be written.

Northwestern University

JOHN R. McLANE

CEYLON. By *S. Arasaratnam*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1964. Pp. vi, 182. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.) Ceylon, "the resplendent island," is a tiny and relatively unknown land, overshadowed by the great land mass of the Indian subcontinent. Yet it has a rich history and an ancient culture dating back at least until the fifth century B.C. Much of its history centers around the relations among three major communal groups, two linguistic, one religious—the Singhalese, the Tamils, and the Muslims. The classical age of Singhalese rule was from 200 B.C. to A.D. 1200. The ruins of the great capitals of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa are among the most impressive reminders of the historic past in any country. Tamils are divided into those who went to Ceylon many decades or even centuries ago and those who arrived only in recent years. Muslims are divided into various groups. Since the sixteenth century they have been completely "Ceylonized."

Since the classical age of Singhalese rule, Buddhism has been an important factor in Ceylonese history, as it is today in Ceylon's political and religious life. For 450 years Ceylon was under the control of European powers: Portugal, Holland, and, finally, England. In 1796 the English ousted the Dutch, and in less than another generation they consolidated their control over the entire island, even over the Kandyan Kingdom, thus giving Ceylon a degree of political unification that it had not known previously. Well before independence was granted in 1948, the Ceylonese had been given a constitutional basis of government, representative institutions, and universal suffrage. Hence the political transfer of power was relatively easy. The increasing difficulties independent Ceylon has experienced have roots in the historic past, but they have been accentuated by the linguistic, religious, political, economic, and external policies of the governments headed by Mr. and Mrs. Bandaranaike. For an introduction to the present situation in Ceylon, set against the background of two and a half millenniums of history, the brief survey by S. Arasaratnam is highly recommended. It is indeed "the first short history of Ceylon to be written by a scholar of either of the major indigenous communities of the country." It was obviously written for Western readers who are not familiar with Ceylon. It opens with a long chapter on "Ceylon since Independence." Then it presents a general survey of Ceylonese history, emphasizing the classical age of Singhalese power and the four and a half centuries of colonial rule. Because of obvious space limitations, the treatment of Ceylon's historical experience and present situation is tantalizingly brief. The interested reader should continue his studies of Ceylon's history, at least to the extent of reading more detailed works on such topics as Singhalese civilization, the colonial era, and contemporary Ceylon. Excellent suggestions for further reading are given in the brief bibliographical note.

University of Pennsylvania

NORMAN D. PALMER

MALAYAN AND INDONESIAN STUDIES: ESSAYS PRESENTED TO SIR RICHARD WINSTEDT ON HIS EIGHTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY. Edited by *John Bastin* and *R. Roolvink*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 357. \$13.45.) This volume was specially written for presentation to Sir Richard Winstedt, the last and greatest of the British scholars who were members of the Malay Civil Service, in commemoration of his eighty-fifth birthday. He can look back on over sixty years of research and publication, which cover almost the whole range of Malay culture. A few of the essays are on literature or religion, but most of them are concerned with Malay history. They range in time from Coedès' commentary on a fragmentary Sri Vijayan inscription of A.D. 682 to a study of the relations of the Colonial Office officials and the British residents of the Malay States during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In addition to the essay by Coedès, two others discuss problems of the Hindu period of Malay history, using a combination of archaeology and documentary research to determine the location of trade entrepôts and the extent of Indian influence on Malay society. These are followed by two essays on Malacca. Major C. R. Boxer's account of the Achinese attack on Malacca in 1629 shows how much the Portuguese were indebted to the sultan of Johore for his help. The latter evidently felt that his principal enemy was the sultan of Aceh and not the Portuguese who had captured Malacca from his ancestor a century earlier. Dr. D. K. Bassett contributes an analysis of the primarily economic motives that induced the East India Company to establish a post at Penang and shows that the search for a naval base was secondary and spasmodic. The Malay side in this transaction is given by Bastin and Skinner. They explain the motives of the sultan of Kedah for making the offer and the extent to which his kingdom was a dependency of Thailand. Miss C. M. Turnbull analyzes how the British government's traditional policy of nonintervention in the affairs of the Malay States was gradually undermined from about the middle of the nineteenth century onward. She shows that

the principal cause was the influx of Chinese, particularly tin miners, and the disorders that their fights caused in Penang. Taken together these essays are a welcome addition to our knowledge of Malay history.

Acadia University

LENNOX A. MILLS

ASIAN MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA: THE BACKGROUND TO EXCLUSION, 1896-1923. By *A. T. Yarwood*. ([Parkville:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1964. Pp. 210. \$9.50.) Here is a first-class study by a young historian from the faculty of the University of New South Wales. Focusing on the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, passed by the new Federal Parliament, Mr. Yarwood has carefully analyzed the formulation and administration of Australian policy toward Asian immigration between 1896 and 1923. He evaluates the complexity of interests involved in the application of this White Australia Policy. Certain groups, such as the dock workers, the fruitgrowers, the shopkeepers, and the merchandisers, exerted pressure in demanding the prevention of illegal Asian immigration. Other groups made strong, but unsuccessful, attempts to arouse support for a system of indentured colored labor to undergird the tropical industries. Commercial groups tried to minimize the roadblocks to Asian-Australian trade, but Yarwood shows how Australia in general controlled the human tendency to waver on a principle when its application worked a hardship in individual cases. Yarwood's conclusions are that the viability of the restrictive policy depended on British naval protection and that Australia denied a foothold to the subjects of an Asian power "which might take up the cudgels on behalf of its distressed nationals." He proves how the Labour party was "the guardian of the ports." The only exception was the pearl shelling industry which used the Japanese. The Commonwealth was so inflexible that at no time between 1901 and 1923 was the White Australia Policy a live, political issue. He also sums up the administrative history of the period under two concurrent developments: "the easing of conditions for temporary entry; and the strengthening of the Act's provisions against evasion." There is a fine chapter on the passage of the Act of 1901, bringing out the subtleties of the political scene as, for example, the free trader's position vis-à-vis that of the protectionists. The mistakes in applying the "literary tests" were amusing. The style is lucid, the use of source materials masterful, and the differing treatment of the four Asian immigration groups (Japanese, Chinese, Indian, and Syrian) discreetly and neatly examined in separate chapters written to bring out the domestic and overseas influences that molded administrative policy and public attitudes for each group.

University of California, Irvine

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

Americas

L'AMÉRIQUE ET LES AMÉRIQUES. By *Pierre Chaunu*. [Collection *Destins du Monde*, Volume VIII.] ([Paris:] Librairie Armand Colin. 1964. Pp. 470.) The series "Destins du Monde," conceived by the late Lucien Febvre and now directed by Fernand Braudel, has the ambitious design to present world history in fourteen beautiful, richly illustrated volumes, written by scholars for both the general and professional reader. Professor Chaunu has undertaken the formidable task of recounting the history of the Americas in 348 pages of text. Despite the dust jacket blurb, this is not, of course, "la première tentative pour présenter une vaste synthèse de l'histoire de l'Amérique dans sa totalité. . . ." In two introductory chapters the author ranges widely among concepts of people, space, and frontiers, from Cortes to Davy Crockett, from Canada to Brazil, from prehistory to the crisis of 1929. In these perceptive chapters he constructs the broad framework within which he develops a synthesis that at times is masterful. The first phases of French and English colonization receive little attention as the emphasis is

placed on the Iberian conquests and colonial systems. This proportion, while not flattering to national egos, certainly is correct in a history of the Americas. Such familiar themes as the Anglo-French struggle for domination in North America are placed in excellent focus, and his chapters on the independence movements are gems of compression and comprehension. Chaunu does not accept traditional explanations for the revolts in Spanish America, but insists that "The basic cause of the rupture is obviously the numerical growth of the Creoles." He finds in the dramatic growth of white population the sociological, economic, and political causes of revolution; where the white population was the smallest element, loyalty to the old regime was strongest. Precipitated by the conjuncture of European events, independence came at the wrong time for Spanish America and resulted in the familiar civil wars. The last third of the volume emphasizes growth of the United States and its dominant role in the Americas. Except for Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico, other countries receive so little attention that they should have been ignored. A country can be identified in a short paragraph, but somewhat more space is needed for a century of its history. Technically this is a handsome book. Eight colored and thirty-two black-and-white plates are supplemented by ninety interesting small illustrations, fifteen well-drawn maps, and several graphs. The figures illustrate accompanying text, but some of the plates are placed indiscriminately, even in the index and bibliography. A chronology in four columns provides ready orientation; the lexicon and indexes are adequate, and a classified bibliography provides a fair reading list. Known for his excellent studies of the Spanish Empire, Chaunu is well qualified to undertake this synthesis. His scholarship is prodigious but not without weaknesses. Arnold Toynbee and Thomas Mann, for example, can hardly be included among America's "maîtres à penser." One feels, too, that occasionally the author is enamored of his statistics, many of which might well have been omitted.

Miami University

HARRIS GAYLORD WARREN

THE PROTESTANT ESTABLISHMENT: ARISTOCRACY & CASTE IN AMERICA. By E. Digby Baltzell. (New York: Random House. 1964. Pp. xviii, 429. \$6.95.) A strong believer in a responsible upper class that unites political, economic, and social authority while remaining open to the accession of new talent, E. Digby Baltzell thinks the United States once had a ruling group of this kind. It was largely Protestant, not because it refused to admit Catholics and Jews to its ranks but simply because this was a Protestant country. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, however, the Protestant aristocracy began to abandon assimilationist ideals; in the twentieth century, under the impact of Darwinism, nativism, and attendant social problems, it converted itself into a jealously exclusive caste. An "ever increasing number of business gentlemen" became more interested in protecting their privileged way of life than in leading the community as a whole. Since they could not prevent the newer ethnic groups from acquiring political and economic power, the old establishment kept its social exclusiveness at the cost of its moral authority. The result, by the 1950's, was an atomization of leadership and a "manipulative society." Still, genuinely aristocratic values were never wholly lost. Men like Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt gallantly opposed the principle of caste, and in the Kennedy administration the foundations of a new, ethnically heterogeneous establishment were laid. The book ends with a stirring summons to the old upper class to change its ways and join in the re-creation of a truly honored and authoritative establishment. Thus we have here both a novel indictment of ethnic discrimination in terms of aristocratic values and a historical sketch of upper-class mores in the twentieth century. The sketch, though vivid and stimulating in its amalgamation of history and sociology, rests on a relatively small number of secondary sources. None of them support the assumption that America had anything like an "establishment" in the mid-nineteenth century. (Curiously, Baltzell ignores Tocqueville's description of

America while subscribing heartily to Tocqueville's social philosophy.) The subsequent fossilization of the WASP upper class is measured largely by its anti-Semitism, so much so that a reader is often given to suppose that admitting Jews to the best clubs would go far to solving our problems of national leadership. The author's moral emphasis on these remnants of social discrimination makes it difficult to evaluate his important historical thesis concerning the decay and reconstitution of a national ruling class.

University of Michigan

JOHN HIGHAM

A HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH. By *Raymond W. Albright*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1964. Pp. x, 406. \$12.50.) This book fills the need for a good narrative history of the Episcopal Church. The story is told with reference to the major developments in general American history. Other Christian movements with which Anglicanism had close, if not necessarily friendly, relations, notably Puritanism and Methodism, are discussed, and the Oxford movement is related to such parallel developments in the Reformed tradition as the Mercersburg theology. These occasional excursions beyond the confines of the Episcopal Church greatly enhance the value of the book. Although the vast scope and almost encyclopedic nature of the volume preclude a detailed treatment of personalities, some major figures, such as Hobart, Chase, and De Koven, emerge as more than names with dates annexed. The volume is well organized. Except for a chapter on the fruitless efforts to establish an American episcopate, the colonial period is treated by regions. Major themes, arranged in chronological order, furnish the basis for the later chapters, which include excellent discussions of "The Oxford Movement and Party Spirit" and "Social Action and the Rise of the Orders." In a very good chapter on "The Church and Modern Thought" Professor Albright shows the influence of European ideas on American Anglicanism. The last chapter, "The Church in the Modern Era," suffers somewhat from the attempt to include everything that did not fit in elsewhere. Albright has accomplished the almost miraculous feat of leaving no trace of partisanship in his treatment of the numerous controversies within Anglicanism. Every significant development in doctrine and liturgical practice is objectively described, but one cannot tell from this book where the author stands on the ladder of Churchmanship. The index is somewhat inadequate for an otherwise excellent reference tool. The book is a valuable addition to the literature of American church history. Its value lies not in that it adds new knowledge or provides new interpretations—it makes no claim to do either of these—but in being an eminently readable narrative.

City College of New York

EMIL OBERHOLZER

THE MAKING OF URBAN AMERICA: A HISTORY OF CITY PLANNING IN THE UNITED STATES. By *John W. Reps*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 574. \$25.00.) Although the title of his book is somewhat misleading, Professor Reps has made a significant contribution to the history of city planning in the United States. With great diligence he has assembled and reproduced here over three hundred maps, plats, and views of the early plans of some two hundred towns and cities, thus providing an unrivaled display of the street patterns and community designs that contributed to the making of urban America. With painstaking care he has identified many of the designers and, where possible, relates their work to one or another of the country's basic cultural traditions, which also supply a framework for the book. He conclusively establishes his major thesis "that, contrary to general opinion, the United States was not a country where all cities had been designed on an undeviating gridiron pattern." Yet the rich documentation of this impressive volume is for the most part two dimensional. Except in the case of a few cities for which aerial views are reproduced, the reader is generally unable to learn from the plats or the text how widespread

and enduring the Spanish, French, Dutch, and other minor cultural strands proved to be. Only the varied gridiron designs and the L'Enfant pattern of concentric avenues radiating from one or more circles, as in Washington, come clearly into focus. This no doubt was the way the cities started and for a time developed, and to set it forth so explicitly is an ample contribution. But the book has the additional merit, as the author hoped, of suggesting opportunities for further research by architectural historians and urban geographers. After a number of chapters tracing the varied imperial influences and describing the special planning traditions developed in the several colonies and on the expanding frontier, Reps notes the potential contributions of the landscape designers of parks and cemeteries; he then describes the stultifying influence of the speculative mania that increasingly gripped the country. Other chapters on "Cities for Sale," "Towns by the Tracks," "Towns the Companies Built," "Cities of Zion" help to fill out the record of urban beginnings, with an occasional note on later developments or failures. The author leaves to other scholars an analysis of the effects of railroads, factories, and mounting densities on the patterns of established cities and on their expanding structure. He suggests, but does not undertake an evaluation of the influence of the different street designs on the economic and social life of their communities. Instead he leaps over the intervening decades of slow change to conclude with a chapter entitled "Chicago Fair and Capitol City: The Rebirth of American Urban Planning." Here he shows how the romantic influence of the landscape architects merged with a newly imported *beaux-arts* tradition and a revival of the L'Enfant designs to produce a rebirth of city planning. Some readers may question whether the planners of the early 1900's were any less detached from and indifferent to the urban landscape around them than the original town designers had been in respect to their geographical settings, yet scholars interested in probing this and other aspects of the history of city planning in America will welcome this volume as a rich documentary foundation for further studies. Explicit notes on the illustrations, an extended bibliography, and a convenient index add to the value of this book.

Rochester, New York

BLAKE McKELVEY

CITY ON A HILL: A HISTORY OF IDEAS AND MYTHS IN AMERICA. By *Loren Baritz*. (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1964. Pp. xi, 367. \$7.50.) The six essays that constitute this book deal with John Winthrop, Jonathan Edwards, John Adams, John Taylor of Caroline, Emerson, and Melville. As the title suggests, the unifying theme is the challenge of the distinctive American experience as each thinker in turn confronted it. Winthrop had said that the New World experiment was to be as a city on a hill for all to wonder at, and something of this sense of ideal possibilities survived in his successors. But Professor Baritz does not emphasize the theme obtrusively; it has more relevance for Winthrop, Adams, and Taylor than for the others. Each chapter is substantially complete in itself, and together they demonstrate impressive knowledge of the sources and a perceptive grasp of the subtleties of Puritan theology, Enlightenment political theory, and romantic literary criticism. Although he adheres closely to the line of thought in the sources and uses generous quotations, Baritz is in complete command at all times and composes his intellectual portraits with firm and thoughtful intentions. The book is not a history in the usual sense. In brief passages connecting the discussions of the six principal figures the author indicates with broad generalizations the course of development in American society that provides the background against which the major figures are placed. These passages are also intended apparently to justify the choice of the principal figures. In turning from Adams to Taylor, for instance, Baritz observes that the federal Constitution was possible in 1789 because the South had not yet become a community, while the North had already ceased to be one. The sections could then unite in a federal union because the states were merely political entities that "did

not reflect an underlying social reality." Again, when he turns from the political writing of Adams and Taylor to the essays and fiction of Emerson and Melville, he says that Americans had exhausted their political impulse. "Theology was dead, politics exhausted, and philosophy inaccessible." It is hard to tell whether generalities of this order are to be taken seriously or dismissed as graceful transitions between the serious parts of the work. But if they are less than wholly persuasive in justifying Baritz' choices, they do not compromise the skill and intelligence with which he pursues his purpose once the choices have been made.

University of Iowa

STOW PERSONS

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: AN AMERICAN MAN OF LETTERS. By *Bruce Ingham Granger*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 264. \$4.95.) Benjamin Franklin has experienced a fate similar to Thomas Jefferson's: monograph upon monograph devoted to the individual facets that make up his many-sidedness. The appearance of Bruce Ingham Granger's new study confirms my thinking that the Franklin pie is being sliced exceedingly fine. Few scholars have shown any inclination to question Franklin's literary talents: Franklin's sex is reasonably beyond dispute, as is his propensity to letters. The need for this short volume is not immediately apparent. And yet need does not necessarily affect enjoyment. There are pleasant aspects to this study: Franklin, in any guise, can give satisfaction, and there is, inevitably, an abundance of Franklin here. The organization is, as the author puts it, "generic and chronological." We are speedily introduced to Franklin's periodical essays, his almanacs, his amazing press agency, his personal and familiar letters (admittedly a subjective and difficult distinction), his bagatelles, and his *Autobiography*. There is, in addition, a sketchy treatment of Franklin's "Literary Background," where we are told that Locke was "one of Franklin's most important teachers." Unhappily this chapter, which could have been a major contribution, raises many more questions than it answers. We are told, not shown. No evidence is supplied on Franklin's early exposure to Locke. And surely the mere listing of books for sale in his brother's newspaper office is no guarantee that young Benjamin read them. A serious effort at appraising Franklin in the eighteenth-century world of letters demands a larger measure of attention to Franklin's intellectual and literary context than Granger cares to give. The ensuing literary review amply confirms Franklin's concern for style, if not precision of expression. The urbanity of Addison did indeed rub off—sometimes. Franklin's wit, at times coarse, at times reaching heights of elegance, served him superbly. He knew his audience. He was truly "among the great makers of the English sentence" and a master of many styles. But the extent of his "passionate pursuit" of virtue could be debated. Students of literature will be more appreciative of this book than students of history.

Indiana University

TREVOR COLBOURN

RUSSIAN AMERICA: THE GREAT ALASKAN VENTURE, 1741-1867. By *Hector Chevigny*. (New York: Viking Press. 1965. Pp. x, 274. \$5.95.) This is a concise history of the 126-year Russian occupation of the only American frontier originally settled from Asia. The familiar stories of the push across Siberia to the Pacific, of the Bering and Chirikov expeditions, and of the swarming of the fearless and ruthless *promyshlenniki* in quest of furs to the islands lying between Kamchatka and America are narrated. The merchant prince, Grigorii Shelikhov, founded a company that sent two vessels to Kodiak Island where the first Russian post in America was founded at Three Saints Bay in 1784. Fifteen years later the Russian-American Company was chartered with a monopoly of trade. Nikolai Rezanov, the company's strategist, envisioned an empire extending from the Arctic south to latitude 55° and from Siberia eastward to America and beyond. Aleksandr Baranov, the first manager, won the fealty of the natives, ena-

bling him to expand Russian holdings. He established New Archangel or Old Sitka where he erected a fort. After the Tlingits sacked the redoubt, Baranov recaptured Sitka and constructed a new townsite that became the colony's commercial center. The author summarizes and neatly brings into a broader history the roles of Rezanov and Baranov, who were subjects of his two earlier books. Baranov's trials and tribulations during his twenty-seven-year rule are intimately told. His establishment of twenty-four posts and of Fort Ross in California with only about four hundred Russians at his command was an amazing achievement. At first the survival of New Archangel depended upon the aid of foreign friends such as King Kamehameha of Hawaii and the American traders Joseph O'Cain, Oliver Kimball, and Jonathan Winship. Eventually the company profited from the fur trade and other economic pursuits, particularly the tea trade. The author also discusses the efforts of Chief Manager Ferdinand von Wrangell in exploring for new sources of furs and in maintaining additional schools, missions, and medical facilities. The remarkable missionary and scientific work of scholarly Father Ioann Veniaminov among the Aleuts and Tlingits is well described. Although Russian colonization in America seemed permanent, foreign encroachments and events in the Far East ultimately led to withdrawal. Throughout the book the author ably demonstrates how Russian relations with China influenced decisions about the American colony. The chapter on the sale of Alaska, despite its thoughtful interpretation, leaves out several relevant factors. The best chapter is the last, which discusses the uprooting of the Russians from Alaska. Skillfully organized and admirably written, the book should appeal to the general reader, but the specialist will not find much new data. Included are an essay on the sources and a brief bibliographical listing of writings mentioned in the text and of recent works. The index could have been more elaborate and analytical.

San Jose State College

BENJAMIN F. GILBERT

CAROLINA CRADLE: SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTHWEST CAROLINA FRONTIER, 1747-1762. By *Robert W. Ramsey*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 251. \$6.00.) American historical writing of the twentieth century has consistently given significant attention to studies of the frontier. This volume is evidence of a continuation of this interest in the American frontier with a study in depth of a limited area and time. Focusing on the northwest Carolina frontier in the Piedmont for the period from 1747 to 1762, the author probes the area of Rowan County (established in 1753) that lay between the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers and included present Salisbury. Major attention is directed to an identification of the people who actually settled there with prime concern for their origin and their location. Ramsey also gives some consideration to the motivations for migration and to the characteristics of the early settlers and the society that developed. For the meticulous digging necessary to reconstruct this story of the "Carolina Cradle," the author's search extended to land and tax records, shipping lists, probate records, vital statistics, tavern licenses, and other local documents not only in North Carolina but also in states to the north from which many of the early settlers migrated, particularly Maryland and Pennsylvania. The author's extensive research has provided both new information about the people of these early settlements and several correctives to earlier interpretations. The most important new conclusions increase the number of Carolina settlers that migrated from Maryland, give greater emphasis to movement from established settlements in the colonies rather than direct migration from Europe by way of Pennsylvania, and demonstrate a preponderance of Scotch-Irish over Germans in early Rowan County. There is also evidence that these early settlers moved primarily as family groups with close ties among many of them. The research for this study is careful and thorough, but the nature of part of the material presented militates against an effective literary style.

Long lists of names, while significant for specific identifications, do not make exciting reading. Passenger lists, land records, and tax lists do not always provide the stuff from which settlers come alive. While chapters such as "Life of the People" are more successful in this respect, there are lists of names that might well have been moved from the main text to accompany the important ones already in the appendixes. This study is at times also too heavily documented; for example, there are 22 footnotes on page 74 and on page 119 there are only 4 lines of text containing a list of names. From this careful study in microcosm I would have liked more conclusions from the evidence presented and a greater effort to relate the findings to the Turner frontier thesis.

University of Kansas

W. STITT ROBINSON

PIONEER PROPHETESS: JEMIMA WILKINSON, THE PUBLICK UNIVERSAL FRIEND. By *Herbert A. Wisbey, Jr.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 232. \$4.95.) Jemima Wilkinson (1752-1819), who led a small but interesting American religious movement in the early national period, was said to have risen from the dead, to have professed messianic pretensions, to have claimed ability to walk on water, to have possessed miraculous powers, to have appropriated the belongings of her followers, and to have been guilty of fraud, blasphemy, sexual promiscuity, and murder. Rejecting stories such as these as fabrications or legends, Professor Wisbey of Corning Community College has given us a sympathetic portrait of a sane and sober religious leader who nevertheless had a magnetic personality and was a gifted speaker. The daughter of a Quaker farmer of Rhode Island, she underwent an intense religious awakening in 1776, took the name "Publick Universal Friend," and became a traveling preacher. While she developed no distinctive theology, she soon built a unique following, including some people of wealth and ability. Her early work was limited to southern New England, but before long she won disciples in the Philadelphia region, and about 1790 she founded a community on the west side of Seneca Lake on the New York frontier, where she spent the rest of her life. She did not prohibit marriage, but she encouraged celibacy, and her home sheltered some of her followers in an arrangement approximating religious communism. These factors, plus antifeminism, may account for some of the hostility she faced. In addition there were difficulties over land titles, defections among her flock, a series of lawsuits, and other problems so that life in her community of "Jerusalem" was somewhat less than golden. The society gradually declined after her death. Wisbey's work is likely to remain the most thorough as well as the most accurate study of Wilkinson and the Universal Friends. It is well organized and well written. Scholars, however, will miss conventional footnotes. The notes are few, of the content variety, and placed at the back of the book along with an extended bibliographical essay and two appendixes of documents.

Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN

INDIVIDUALISM AND NATIONALISM IN AMERICAN IDEOLOGY. By *Yehoshua Arieli*. [Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 442. \$9.95.) This is a serious and elaborate analysis of the growth of American self-consciousness from the Revolution to the Civil War. Arieli, associate professor of modern history at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, places the development of ideology in America in the context of European thought, and he relies on the useful analytical concepts of the sociologists of knowledge, especially Mannheim. The result of this unusual widening of the context and of the conceptual sophistication is disappointing. The utility of this volume consists of its wide synthesis of conclusions already mostly familiar. Arieli's wide erudition and methodological advancement justify a desire that he tell us more than we have learned as a result of more orthodox histories. After a lei-

surely and careful statement about ideology in general, and an informed discussion of the growth of nationalistic theory in America and Europe, especially England and France, the grand conclusion is an anticlimax: "The uniqueness of the American ideology lay in the fact that the equalitarian and libertarian political doctrine of natural rights was grafted onto the ideal of a natural order of social life to yield a new concept of a natural order of freedom, or the ideal of a 'free society.'" It is helpful to be reminded about the evangelical and utopian components in American nationalism, and about the problems in the Jeffersonian ideal of "collective individualism." Arieli has discovered again that individualism was more of a positive good in American than in European thought, that it became the symbol and ideal of American nationalism. And yet this is a useful volume, not because of what the author seems to have chiefly intended, but because of its traditional narrative sections that provide a good review of French, English, and American political and social theory of the late eighteenth century. The literary style is uncompromisingly flat, the methodological innovation is not justified by results, but Arieli's detailed narrative can fruitfully be used as a survey of the period.

University of Rochester

LOREN BARITZ

BARONESS VON RIEDESEL AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: JOURNAL AND CORRESPONDENCE OF A TOUR OF DUTY, 1776-1783. A REVISED TRANSLATION WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES. By *Marvin L. Brown, Jr.*, with the assistance of *Marta Huth*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1965. Pp. xlvii, 222. \$6.00.) This unusually intimate journal and collection of letters give a view of the American Revolution from the eyes of Frederika von Massow, the baroness von Riedesel, wife of the Brunswick general who commanded the German mercenaries for Great Britain. Some of his letters to the Baroness are also included in the appended correspondence. Mr. Brown has translated from copies of the original German manuscripts, corrected former versions of the journals now almost unavailable, and published for the first time some newly discovered letters. He has done a careful editing job and has provided an analytical index, many illustrations, and several maps. The Baroness began her journal in May 1776 when she started on her adventurous trip to England to await passage for Quebec and reunion with her husband. Traveling with children, servants, and baggage and meeting the trials of the road, she managed her problems very well indeed. Love for her husband and children brought her to America and took her to the Battle of Saratoga where she had some perilous experiences. After the capitulation she and her husband lived as prisoners in Massachusetts and Virginia, and after their release she accompanied her husband to New York and Quebec during his service as commander of British troops. Besides her impressions of people and places, her accounts of life among the officers and officials seem most important. Since illness afflicted them constantly, medical care and cure become a valuable part of the journal. Diet, the preservation of food, and details of supply and procurement of food concerned her daily as she moved through strange places. The appended letters supplement the journal and occasionally give dimension to the personalities of the Baroness and her husband. In one letter the Baron cautioned his wife: "You have the best character in the world, but often you are so unreasonable as not to hide the hate which you have for important men. . . . My angel, be more circumspect about what you say and the people you visit." There expectations in 1776 about the length of the Revolution, and thus the duration of their stay, also are revealing. The Revolution, he noted, was started by a few schemers, fought by "poor rascals," and would end in 1777 when the mercenaries marched into New England. They went there in 1778 as prisoners.

University of Southern California

JOHN A. SCHUTZ

THE DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS OF MASSACHUSETTS: POLITICS IN A YOUNG REPUBLIC. By *Paul Goodman*. [Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 281. \$6.95.) The author of this monograph concludes that the first American political parties took form during the mid-1790's and that the Massachusetts Republicans were men of diverse backgrounds and occupations and not primarily agrarians or westerners or former sympathizers with Shays' Rebellion. According to Mr. Goodman, it just was not that simple. He flatly rejects the accuracy of Beardian analysis as it applies to Massachusetts in the period from about 1785 to 1815. If we ask who the Jeffersonians were, he answers that they were merchants, businessmen, yeomen, men of all walks of life. Many were urban, and many rural in environment, and their socioeconomic background was diverse. Why did these men coalesce to unseat the Federalists in the 1790's? Goodman points toward the French Revolution and the effects of the European war, but most significantly he documents an answer that amounts to this: Massachusetts Republican leadership was drawn from a rising group of relative newcomers like the Crowninshields of Salem, frustrated, ambitious, and angry over the control of office and opportunity in economic life exercised by a set of men who, united through a web of marriage, mercantile, and legal alliances, refused to open doors and directorships to aspiring strangers. This study makes clear how important the expansion of economic opportunity was to the development of political parties, yet it was not a case, as Beard contended, of those who approved Hamiltonian financial measures lining up on one side and those who opposed them on the other. On the contrary, Goodman has uncovered ample evidence to show that the forces for expansion that operated in the Bank War of the 1830's were also operative a generation earlier in New England. A brief review cannot do justice to this book or even mention some of the important points raised and conclusions drawn. Main's recent study of the Antifederalists is not listed in notes or bibliography and appeared too late apparently to have been studied by the author. Clearly, however, his conclusions are closer to those of Forrest McDonald. While Goodman has told us who and what the Massachusetts Republicans were not, it might be objected that, close as they were to the Federalists in affirming the basic lines of the postconstitutional Federal Union, it is not entirely clear what "newcomer" or "outsider" meant. Were there, for instance, fewer Harvard graduates among them? Just how important was kinship or the legal profession? This is an important study. It affirms at many points what Aronson found in his recent investigation of the early civil service and would have had greater impact had the indexes that guided that work been used here.

Wabash College

STEPHEN G. KURTZ

BULFINCH'S BOSTON, 1787-1817. By *Harold* and *James Kirker*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 305. \$7.50.) The Kirker brothers, one an architectural historian and the other a free-lance writer, have combined to produce a work both careful in scholarship and highly literate. It is a joy to read and is most informative about the beginnings of modern Boston. For it is "Bulfinch's Boston," built between 1787 and 1817, that visibly survives today. True, it has grown immensely from the town of fifteen to twenty thousand, but the core of the city even now bears his unmistakable imprint, in the Statehouse and in Faneuil Hall, in various public buildings, along the quiet, prim streets of Beacon Hill, and all over "old Boston" in the imitations of his delicate, neoclassical, Adam-inspired brick mansions built by his followers. Bulfinch had a wide and enduring influence. Just a century and a half afterward Boston is undergoing new major surgery which will change the appearance of the core city as greatly as did that gentle "amateur" architect. The great port of Boston, in Bulfinch's time, became the center for the China trade, and Oriental goods and Oriental feeling

adorned the interiors of the new mansions. In the 1960's it was a newcomer from the Orient, architect I. M. Pei, who began the modernization of Bulfinch's Boston. The heart of the old city, Scollay Square, has been virtually razed, and handsome new high-rise towers are replacing the crumbling stores, warehouses, and movie-burlesque theaters between the twin monuments of the colonial Statehouse and Bulfinch's federal Statehouse—still the capitol, though somewhat altered and greatly expanded. Pei is said to have studied carefully the older heritage in the design of his clean, contemporary edifices, under the watchful eye of Boston's zealous antiquarians. Their concern for the preservation of the artistic and historical remnants of the past is tempered by a recognition of the need for replacement of the slums by new buildings, as long as scale and a reasonable neighborliness are observed. Walter M. Whitehill contends that Pei's work to date seems quite successful. Nonetheless, one of the buildings that disappeared in the 1962 project was Bulfinch's own home, on Bulfinch Place. There is no question but that Bulfinch's Boston will soon be Pei's also. The Kirkers have written mostly for the layman; their text is drawn primarily from the published Bulfinch letters and existing biographical and architectural studies. These they have woven into a lucid narrative that carries the reader through the varied life of the self-effacing architect who became first selectman and chief of police of a stubborn city whose image he was to mold from these strategic positions. The authors maintain an understandable personal identification with their subject, exhibiting a clear sympathy with his desire to alter the old colonial tradition in architecture, which they find "dull and stiff" as compared with the "charming and flexible" federal styles. Some readers may differ as to the former. The typography is clear and handsome, but the illustrations are fewer than one might expect, and unhappily grouped all together, as is the current publishers' penchant. A good map of Bulfinch's Boston of 1817 occupies both end papers; one might well have wished for a second map of Bulfinch's Boston today, showing the transformation in process. Indeed, the authors have little to say about this; perhaps this is material for a second volume.

*St. Augustine Historical, Restoration and
Preservation Commission*

EARLE W. NEWTON

INFERENCE AND DISPUTED AUTHORSHIP: *THE FEDERALIST*. By *Frederick Mosteller* and *David L. Wallace*. [Addison-Wesley Series in Behavioral Science: Quantitative Methods.] (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 287. \$12.50.) Liberty Bell on the dust jacket to the contrary, this is a book by mathematicians and for mathematicians. The authors themselves declare that its "value resides in the illustrative use of the various techniques" rather than in its findings on the authorship of the disputed numbers of *The Federalist*. The book contains many facts and figures on *The Federalist* and its authors, but the figures far outnumber the facts; there are eighty-five tables, some several pages in length, and so many equations that it would take another computer to total them. Yet the book will be of some value to historians, especially to those with a leaning toward quantitative analysis. They will find helpful suggestions for applying statistics to historical and literary studies. And it certainly should be the final word on the question of authorship of the disputed essays. Mathematicians using statistical methods have come up with the same answers as historians using historical methods. Thus *Inference and Disputed Authorship* corroborates the findings in 1944 of Douglass Adair, rather than providing new answers. Historical studies and word studies agree that Madison was the Publius who wrote the disputed essays. The only case where Mosteller and Wallace have any doubts is Number 55, for there the odds in Madison's favor are "only" about ninety to one. While examining many of the other writings of Madison and Hamilton, the authors made a word study of the Caesar essays, which historians so often use as evidence of Hamilton's antagonism toward democracy. Because Caesar's language is so uncharacteristic of Hamilton, they con-

clude that he could not have been the author. Its language is more characteristic even of Madison than of Hamilton, though the authors do not contend that Madison was Caesar, either.

California State College at Los Angeles

DONALD O. DEWEY

ESSAYS ON THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION: A COMMEMORATIVE VOLUME IN HONOR OF ALPHEUS T. MASON. Edited by *Gottfried Dietze*. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1964. Pp. x, 245. \$6.50.) This collection of essays is a *Festschrift* published in honor of Professor Alpheus T. Mason on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday by a group of his former students at Princeton. Mason is the McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence, a chair previously held by his teacher, Edward S. Corwin, and originally occupied by Woodrow Wilson. Mason has had a distinguished career as a teacher and as a productive scholar, as the impressive bibliography in the appendix of this book suggests. His biographies of Brandeis and Stone are major contributions to judicial biography, but in addition he has written extensively on American political theory and constitutional law, particularly in respect to the place of the Supreme Court in the federal system. It is, of course, a pleasant custom for students to demonstrate their appreciation by honoring their distinguished professor in this manner. But their purpose to do so is about all that the eleven essays of this book have in common. While they are gathered together as "Essays on the American Constitution," actually several of them are related to the Constitution only if the term is given an extraordinarily broad construction. Thus Julian P. Boyd writes on Jefferson and Marshall and seeks (I think very successfully) to correct Beveridge's contrast between them. Andrew Hacker talks about the political activities of large corporations, Richard H. Leach discusses the indispensability of intergovernmental cooperation in the American federal system, and Jack Peltason makes some useful observations about the utility and improvement of judicial biography. In this connection Peltason defends Mason's use of intramural communications among the justices in the Stone biography. Among the constitutional law articles the most impressive is a scholarly and perceptive analysis of the *amicus* brief by Samuel Krislov of the University of Minnesota. His colleague, Harold W. Chase, urges political scientists to take greater interest in the "lawyers' clause" of the Constitution, the full faith and credit clause, and, while the point is well taken, he does little more than to portray the problems that require investigation. Woodford Howard contributes a well-documented essay on the extent to which constitutional limitations apply to foreign policy. Two professors at the University of North Carolina, Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, seek to explain through the use of social science data why the school integration decision, *Brown v. School Board*, has produced better results in some districts of the South than in others. They establish a large number of significant correlations and conclude that demographic factors, especially urbanism, Negro and white income, and Negro education, have been more important factors than density of Negro population or level of Negro voter registration. An essay on Robert von Mohl (1799-1875), a German liberal scholar who was interested in American constitutional law, by the editor of the volume, Gottfried Dietze, a piece on *Baker v. Carr* by Gordon E. Baker, who approves of judicial interventionism in the area of legislative apportionment, and an examination of the early interest of William O. Douglas in social science materials relating to legal problems, by John W. Hopkirk, complete the book. Taken individually, all of these essays are workmanlike and professional, though of uneven quality, as perhaps one might expect. Whether binding together eleven essays on as many subjects makes a book is the basic question that a reader cannot very well avoid. But they do make a fine *Festschrift*, and the authors chose a graceful and appropriate way of doing honor to a truly eminent member of the American political science profession.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID FELLMAN

QUARRELS THAT HAVE SHAPED THE CONSTITUTION. Edited by *John A. Garraty*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1964. Pp. x, 276. \$4.95.) One of the most accessible, easily exploited, and thoroughly neglected sources of American political, social, economic, diplomatic, and even intellectual history is the published records of our state and federal courts. Further, not only are they literally an untapped treasure-trove of information, but they are indexed, cross-referenced, catalogued, and analyzed in an extensive body of legal reference materials usable for the lay historian with only the slightest extra effort in self-education. Professor Garraty's collection of sixteen popular essays on the historical background and frequently prosaic settings for famous Supreme Court cases is eloquent testimony to this fact. The majority of these brief pieces, several of which appeared in the *American Heritage* magazine, were written by nonspecialists in constitutional history, and these, equally with those by Professors Magrath, Westin, Mason, and Kelly, cast revealing light on the milieu from which controversies arose later to make judicial history and frequently national headlines. One only regrets in this regard the lack of concrete documentation which would have afforded added and instructive insights into the methodological approaches these authors used to such materials. If the book has flaws they are more in its rather questionable over-all monolithic conception than in the individual contributions. Garraty seems to wish to convey the impression that in Warren's time, as well as Marshall's, the process of a simple local quarrel becoming a major national point of law is a somewhat haphazard and opportunistic one about which the Court can do little but surrender to the inevitability of successive appeals. This ignores the growing and vital modern tendency of the justices to play an ever more powerful role in deciding personally the nature of the cases on their docket and their picking and choosing the sort of instances they feel will best dramatize current constitutional conflicts. Here Garraty has missed an opportunity to explore one of the more important changes of judicial procedure in the evolution of that branch's history. Hardly, as Alfred H. Kelly incisively points out, was a case more carefully chosen or channeled than *Brown v. Topeka*, a point made less overtly but nonetheless clearly by the authors of several of the modern pieces. Yet despite such a missed opportunity, the volume rises happily above the traditional lawyer's exercise in "Great Cases of the Law" and makes clear the value that more extended and detailed studies of frequently peripherally legal data could have in the greater knowledge of our legal past and the explication of vital trends in the American experience generally.

University of Minnesota

PAUL L. MURPHY

ELEMENTS OF JUDICIAL STRATEGY. By *Walter F. Murphy*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 249. \$7.50.) For historians not interested in new analytical methods being used by political scientists in the study of the judiciary, this volume will have value primarily to indicate the kinds of historical materials to be found in the papers of some of the recently retired members of the Supreme Court. Particularly important, because little used hitherto, are the papers of Justice Frank Murphy, but the papers of Hughes, McReynolds, Stone, Taft, and others are also used, all to the enrichment of public knowledge of the personalities and the workings of the Court. The purpose of this book, however, is not merely to present hitherto undiscovered historical materials but primarily to analyze the methods by which the Court or members of the Court may make themselves effective in shaping policy through the judicial process. This leads to use of the terminology of "model building," "games theory," and other devices now much in use in the social sciences, though not, be it said, to extensive use of mathematical computations after the fashion of some innovators in the field. Apart from the occasionally technical terminology, the book has value for those who would better understand workable strategy for individual judges,

groups of judges, or courts as a whole in working their will in the decision of cases. Courts, groups of judges, and individual judges do struggle for self-expression and influence, and their strategy is important enough to justify study. The book's limitation lies in a hazard that the author tries to avoid by disclaimers. It deals so much with strategy and inside workings of the Supreme Court as to de-emphasize or indeed almost ignore the fact that the primary function of a court is to apply law and to get legal disputes finally settled, not to realize the policy ambitions of the court as a whole or of individual members. In spite of Murphy's efforts, the book is apt to be used to support the thesis that law is "nothing but politics," and that judges are merely politicians with the judiciary as their forum. It will be of interest to students of politics who have no interest at all in law and who would prefer to believe that law as law is a non-existent phenomenon. For such readers the book may be something of a menace through its aid to self-deception. For students at the opposite pole who see sharp demarcation between law on the one hand and politics and the making of public policy on the other, and who regard the latter as largely irrelevant to legal study, the current work will serve as a useful antidote.

Johns Hopkins University

CARL BRENT SWISHER

THE NATIONAL GUARD IN POLITICS. By *Martha Derthick*. [Harvard Political Studies. Published under the direction of the Department of Government in Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 202. \$4.95.) With admirable clarity Martha Derthick has analyzed the political activities of the National Guard throughout its existence. This study of the National Guard as a political institution has particular pertinence because the Guard has always depended on the federal government for its wherewithal. The state support tendered the Guard has never been sufficient to sustain the organization—nor has this been the intent. As a creature of the Constitution, the Guard has commanded both political and emotional respect. Congress has been wary about tampering with the militia ordained by the founding fathers, and indeed the Guard has had some enthusiastic support from Congress. This support has often been generated by the fact that Congress has been able to maintain a much closer supervision of the Guard than of the military establishment within the executive branch. In the days when America disdained professional militarism, the Guard could command respect as an organization of citizen-soldiers. But during times of stress, particularly in World War II, the Guard had to be measured in terms of its military, rather than political, effectiveness. The Guard's inadequate performance as a fighting outfit earned it the contempt of the Regular Army. Derthick wisely makes no attempt to assess the combat role of the Guard, restricting herself to its activities in the political arena. She explains expertly the reasons for the Guard's successes and failures, stressing the intimate connections of the Guard's hierarchy with state politics. As the cold war has forced the nation to rely for protection on military deterrence rather than mobilization, the Guard's position has progressively diminished. As the role of the federal government has grown in all phases of the national experience, states' rights and the National Guard have been losing ground together. Whether Secretary McNamara's recent efforts to combine the functions of the Guard and organized reserves will materially alter the trend remains to be seen. Derthick's account of the political dimension of the Guard will remain a basic reference.

Washington, D. C.

WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

NUMBER 7: ALEXANDER HAMILTON'S SECRET ATTEMPTS TO CONTROL AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. WITH SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS. By *Julian P. Boyd*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. xvii, 166. \$4.00.) This volume, too modestly described by its author as "a sort of footnote to Bemis' *Jay's*

Treaty," is a carefully constructed indictment of Alexander Hamilton during an early portion of the period covered by Bemis. In a mere eighty pages of text drawn from his own edition of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Julian P. Boyd clearly shows that, in discussions with the British secret agent, George Beckwith, the Secretary of the Treasury committed indiscretions beyond those discovered by previous scholars. Hamilton—Number 7 in Beckwith's reports—kept the very fact of these conversations from the President for nine months. When he revealed their existence, he deliberately misreported them to Washington and in turn distorted the President's reaction in talks with Beckwith. In all of this, Boyd alleges, Hamilton committed "almost the gravest offense of which a cabinet officer can be guilty in his role of responsible advisor to the head of state," and only a juror unwilling to convict without a confession would acquit Hamilton of Boyd's charge. The consequences of Hamilton's black efforts are less clear than Boyd suggests. The Secretary of the Treasury apparently helped to inspire the abortive mission to London of Gouverneur Morris and, when it failed, tried to fix the blame on Morris. He allowed Britain to misread American intentions during the Nootka Sound controversy and, Boyd less convincingly asserts, sought subtly to sabotage a planned approach to Madrid at that time. By these actions Hamilton undermined Madison's proposals for commercial warfare against England, proposals already unlikely to pass, and perhaps slightly lessened the chance of an open breach with London. The existence of divisions in America, however, more than colored reports from Hamilton, encouraged Britain to maintain its rigid attitude toward the new nation, while, on the American side, as Boyd shows, neither Washington nor Jefferson misread British intentions.

University of Michigan

BRADFORD PERKINS

JOHN DALY BURK: IRISH REVOLUTIONIST AND AMERICAN PATRIOT. By *Joseph I. Shulim*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LIV, Part 6.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1964. Pp. 60. \$2.00.) John Daly Burk was an active participant in the struggle between liberalism and conservatism that was taking place on both sides of the Atlantic. In Ireland he was involved for a short time in the revolutionary activities of the Society of United Irishmen. Burk's chief means of supporting the liberal cause, however, was the written or spoken word. His greatest contributions were in his adopted home in the United States. Here he was editor, playwright, poet, historian, and orator. Arriving penniless in Boston in 1796, Burk soon became editor of that city's first daily paper, supporting the liberal movement wherever it occurred. In New York he became involved in bitter partisan politics as a fighting Republican editor. As a result, Burk felt the impact of the conservatives and moved on to Virginia. The liberalism in France and Ireland had faded; the Republicanism of Thomas Jefferson seemed the only hope of the world. From an Irish nationalist and cosmopolitan crusader, Burk entered into that phase of his life when he was an ardent American liberal nationalist. Professor Shulim has not attempted to write a biography covering Burk's personal life. The sources are too scarce. He has, however, been able to convey the warmhearted, generous, loyal, vain, impulsive, and fiery nature of Burk. More importantly he has been able to portray the thinking, the attitudes, the emotions, and the actions that are basic to a writer and spokesman of the liberal movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Burk's plays, poems, histories, newspaper writings, and orations exemplify the views of many liberals whether in France, Ireland, England, or America. This book makes a real contribution in helping to show the nature of the "western" revolution that involved the Atlantic community and in ably portraying the role of one of the more active spokesmen of the period.

Arlington, Virginia

HOMER L. CALKIN

THE SHOSHONIS: SENTINELS OF THE ROCKIES. By *Virginia Cole Trenholm* and *Maurine Carley*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 74.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964. Pp. xiii, 367. \$5.95.) Under the name of Snakes or Diggers the Shoshoni Indians were relegated to an insignificant role in early western history by many of the American pioneers who first penetrated their country. Similarly, they are among the last of the major Indian tribes to receive the attention of American historians, and the authors are to be complimented on completing this synthesis. The book covers the entire history of these people from Lewis and Clark to the present and includes not only the Eastern Shoshoni of Wyoming and the Shoshoni of the Fort Hall and Snake River area but also the small bands of northern Utah and eastern Nevada. The period from 1900 to the present is treated in rather cursory fashion, the main interest being directed to the early history, the treaty period of the 1860's, and the later wars of the 1800's. A quite comprehensive bibliography indicates a rather thorough coverage of source materials, and there is a good index. The story proceeds in chronological fashion following the familiar routine of explorers, fur traders, emigrants, and settlers. While the narrative does not scintillate, it does proceed in a straightforward, lucid manner, and one gets a rather clear and sympathetic picture of a people unfortunately located astride the Oregon and California Trails, beset by the troubles that white penetration brought to all American Indian tribes. If any criticism could be made of the book, it would be the uncritical acceptance of materials by the authors with little attempt being made to separate the wheat from the chaff. An evaluation of sources as they were presented would have helped. With that being said, it remains only to congratulate the authors and the University of Oklahoma Press for an excellent addition to "The Civilization of the American Indian Series." *The Shoshonis* should be included on the bookshelf of anyone interested in western history.

Peace Corps, Washington, D. C.

BRIGHAM D. MADSEN

MERIWETHER LEWIS: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Richard Dillon*. (New York: Coward-McCann, 1965. Pp. xvii, 364. \$6.95.) By courtesy of Meriwether Lewis, his friend and second in command, William Clark, was accorded the status of cocaptain of the great exploration planned by Jefferson and authorized by Congress. It was a most successful partnership, and historians have always treated it as joint enterprise. Does Lewis deserve a separate biography? Is such a biography possible without doing injustice to Clark? Richard Dillon's admirable life of Lewis provides an affirmative answer to both questions. The young Virginian, protégé of Jefferson, is shown to have been a man of versatile intellectual qualities as well as of soldierly discipline and decision, who prepared, managed, and led the expedition in the most competent manner. His successful diplomacy with the Indian tribes of the West is shown to have kept them from becoming a danger to the government during the War of 1812. The only serious error imputed to Lewis by the author is his long delay in assuming his duties as governor of Upper Louisiana Territory. This allowed Frederick Bates, the territorial secretary, so thoroughly to undermine Lewis, before his arrival in St. Louis, that his success as governor was rendered well-nigh impossible. Nevertheless, Lewis might have righted affairs but for the penurious policy of the War Department. His financial irregularities were justifiable and were not dishonest. On the question of whether Lewis was murdered or was a suicide, the author believes he was murdered and that Jefferson too readily accepted the report of suicide. Nothing can be proved either way, but the author's review of the case will enlist sympathy for his viewpoint. The illustrations are interesting because of the rarity of some of them. The book is without footnotes, which makes for readability. Close students, however, would welcome a note on the identity of John Conner, or the reasons for thinking Lewis traversed Lewis and Clark Pass rather than Cadotte Pass, for example. Though John Ledyard is said to have walked, in Siberia, he actually

traveled in a kibitka drawn by three horses. "Falls of the Columbia" is written once for "Falls of the Missouri." An error on the dust jacket puts Anthony Wayne in charge of suppressing the Whisky Rebellion. Lewis was an able and attractive man, whose career ended under a cloud, which has been at least partially removed by this well-written and well-informed biography.

Colorado College

HARVEY L. CARTER

GUARDIANS OF TRADITION: AMERICAN SCHOOLBOOKS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Ruth Miller Elson*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 424. \$7.00.) "Apart from the Bible," Mrs. Elson points out, "the books most widely read in nineteenth-century America were not those written by intellectuals, but schoolbooks written by printers, journalists, teachers, ministers, and future lawyers earning their way through college. The selective process by which these people decided what political, economic, social, cultural, and moral concepts should be presented to American youth undoubtedly helped to form the average American's view of the past, the present, and the possible future of man." Accordingly, she has gone through more than a thousand spellers, readers, geographies, histories, and arithmetics, and gleaned their teachings about God, man, nature, culture, and society. The result is a useful compendium of the values and ideas to which average Americans were exposed in the years between 1776 and 1900. The conclusion is indicated by her title: although most authors of schoolbooks thought of themselves as guardians of liberty, they are more accurately described as guardians of tradition (the two characterizations, one might add, need not be contradictory). The topical organization inevitably presents problems. We are given a series of chapters distilling textbook teaching on a variety of subjects (such as race, religion, nationality, social reform), an approach that by its very nature tends to homogenize the data. A quotation from Webster's speller of 1783, which circulated in the millions, is qualified by one from Dutton's speller of 1896, which did not. An assertion based on a story from McGuffey is modified by one based on a story from Monroe—and who, incidentally, was Monroe? We are told nothing of the authors themselves, nor of the varying conditions of their enterprise. Hence, subtle differences from author to author, publisher to publisher, region to region, or decade to decade tend to be de-emphasized in the quest for generalizations. Two bibliographies are included. The listing of the texts themselves is excellent and should prove valuable to students of intellectual and educational history. The listing of ancillary works, however, is scant at best, omitting such monographs as E. C. Shoemaker's *Noah Webster: Pioneer of Learning* and R. D. Mosier's *Making the American Mind: Social and Moral Ideas in the McGuffey Readers*, which for all their limitations are patently relevant, and including a variety of outdated textbooks such as E. W. Knight's *Public Education in the South*, E. H. Reisner's *The Evolution of the Common School*, and E. P. Cubberley's *Public Education in the United States*.

Columbia University

LAWRENCE A. CREMIN

A YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: TREATING OF THE FACE OF THE COUNTRY, THE CLIMATE, THE SOIL, THE PRODUCTS, THE MODE OF CULTIVATING THE LAND, THE PRICES OF LAND, OF LABOUR, OF FOOD, OF RAIMENT; OF THE EXPENSES OF HOUSEKEEPING, AND OF THE USUAL MANNER OF LIVING; OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE PEOPLE; AND OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE COUNTRY, CIVIL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS. By *William Cobbett*. [Centaur Classics.] (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1964. Pp. 338. \$19.50.) In March 1817 William Cobbett, then at the height of his influence as a popular journalist, fled England in order to escape persecution by the Tory government. After settling down on a

Long Island farm, he sent home articles for the *Political Register*, many of which were reprinted in book form as *A Year's Residence in the United States of America*. More than half of the contents consisted of now outdated descriptions of agricultural techniques, which have been faithfully included in all subsequent editions, including this one. The real value of the book (apart from Cobbett's characteristically personal asides on Shakespeare's plays and sundry other matters) lies in its reports on the American scene. These bear the stamp of authenticity but not profundity. Cobbett's practiced eye took in conditions on the land in several eastern states, noting evidence of squalor as well as careful cultivation. His generous comments on American political and social life offer a pleasant contrast to the verdicts of some of his fellow countrymen, and he praised in particular the honesty and economy of the American government. Cobbett, who had shown hostility to the spirit and practice of American democracy while living in Philadelphia before 1800, now called America "the beam in the eye, the thorn in the side, the worm in the vitals of every despot upon the face of the earth." His dithyrambs remind us that the articles were written as tracts supporting reform of the English Parliament. To Cobbett, America was an example of the prosperous, well-fed society that could be achieved in England after the corrupt, extravagant boroughmongering system had been swept away by radical reform. Nevertheless, although Cobbett was always writing with England in mind, the descriptions themselves appear fresh and may be read with profit. It is regrettable that this expensive edition does not include clarifying footnotes. Furthermore, the brief, superficial introduction says nothing of importance to the scholar and does little to enlighten the general reader.

Rutgers University

JOHN W. OSBORNE

SLAVERY IN THE CITIES: THE SOUTH 1820-1860. By *Richard C. Wade*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 340. \$6.75.) Because the ante bellum South was a distinctively rural region, we have commonly thought of slavery in exclusively rural terms. Yet if Washington, Baltimore, and St. Louis, as well as Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans were southern cities, Dixie was not lacking in urban centers of appreciable size. This being the case, it seems strange that it has taken so long for a historian to get around to writing an account of slavery in the cities. But now Professor Wade has given us a detailed account of urban slavery that is exhaustive and authentic. This is important because conditions of the institution were quite different in the city from those prevailing in rural areas. The city offered much freedom of movement and association and many temptations. Consequently during the closing years of the old regime in the South, slaves were being replaced by Irish and German immigrants, and their numbers declined. Slavery was an ugly institution, and there was never any excuse for it except that there was no other labor force available for the production of the staple crops of the southern colonies and states. Without slaves, the settlement of the transmontane area between the Ohio River and the Gulf of Mexico would hardly have advanced as rapidly as it did, and it is unlikely that Texas would have been acquired. In that case we should not have been able to take the Southwest, including California, from Mexico, and the boundary of the Louisiana Purchase would probably have remained our limit in that direction. Thus the nation profited, and the South lost. Because slaves were sold by traders who were not southerners, it hardly seems fair to castigate the slaveholder for all the injustices of the system, and, after all, though it is not admitted by Wade, most southern slaveholders were decent people, and most Negroes were tolerant and good humored. The question as to whether the past should be judged by the standards of the present has probably not been settled, but Wade judges the first half of the nineteenth century by the standards now in vogue. In the earlier period, free servants were subject to many of the same restrictions placed upon the slaves, and there were few advocates of racial equality in the nineteenth cen-

tury. Neither Jefferson nor Lincoln subscribed to this political dogma of recent years. Thus I consider this book, though factually accurate, to be demographically biased and misleading.

University of Virginia

THOMAS P. ABERNETHY

FRONTIER IRON: THE MARAMEC IRON WORKS, 1826-1876. By *James D. Norris*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1964. Pp. vii, 206. \$4.25.) Perhaps the hypothesis of Frederick Jackson Turner should be turned about so that the urban-industrial frontier, which he viewed as a final stage of the frontier process, can be considered, if not the first stage, at least a stage simultaneous with all others in the westward movement. Recent scholarship has demonstrated the importance of towns and cities in the initial development of the West; through an examination of the first important trans-Mississippi ironworks, *Frontier Iron*, makes the same point about manufacturing. The Maramec Iron Works, located seventy-five miles southwest of St. Louis, was established in 1826 in an Ozark wilderness area scarcely penetrated by the trapper and the hunter. Since the successful manufacture of iron required a substantial capital investment, a highly skilled labor force, and a complex technology, from the start the Maramec Iron Works was a large-scale manufacturing enterprise even though its operations never produced more than a small percentage of the country's iron. Until the company failed in 1876 as a result of the undue optimism of its last proprietor and the integration of iron manufacturing into a national economy, the Maramec Iron Works shaped the economic development of Missouri, influencing transportation and marketing patterns, attracting capital into the state, contributing to the growth of St. Louis, and affecting the character of the regional population. From extensive company records and related correspondence, Norris has thoroughly and clearly developed all the conventional topics required in a good business history. In addition, unlike many business historians, who are seldom much concerned with product, he decided to get his hands dirty and through excavation of the Maramec site has added concreteness to his valuable examination of the technology of ironmaking. Six technical drawings and four maps, all of excellent quality, contribute greatly to the book's clarity. Although the author too casually associates the processes of urbanization and industrialization, this does not detract from a superbly researched, well-written monograph that illuminates a number of aspects of American business, economic, and western history.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

CHARLES N. GLAAB

THE JOURNALS OF WILLIAM FRASER TOLMIE, PHYSICIAN AND FUR TRADER. (Vancouver: Mitchell Press. 1963. Pp. xv, 413. \$7.50.) Few works relating to the history of the Pacific Northwest coast of America are extant for the period prior to 1840. The publication of the excellent journals of William Frazer Tolmie, a young Scottish physician and fur trader for the Hudson's Bay Company in the Oregon Country is, therefore, an important addition to western Americana. The Tolmie journals, the originals of which repose in the Archives of British Columbia and are composed of four small volumes, cover a twelve-year span in the author's life beginning in Scotland in October 1830 and concluding with a trip to Paris in 1842. Most of the diaries, however, deal with Tolmie's experiences in the Pacific Northwest during the years 1832-1835, a historically significant period but one little known outside of manuscript sources. Tolmie took himself and his work seriously as is clearly reflected in his long, yet enlightening journal entries. Not only did he give detailed botanical, zoological, and anthropological information, but he discussed the use of leisure time at the fur trade establishments, and included evaluations of and conversations with colleagues and his own personal reflections. Some of Tolmie's descriptions of Hudson's Bay Company forts in the Columbia and British Columbia country are superior to those in the post journals them-

selves, and his discussion of his and Peter Skene Ogden's role in the "Stikine Affair" between the Russian-American Fur Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1834 is superb. Howard T. Mitchell should be congratulated for his honest treatment of the journals, allowing them to retain their original flavor. They are presented in almost unadulterated form with little editorial comment. Perhaps this is a deterrent to the non-specialist's appreciation of them, but Mitchell's good introductory statements, the foreword by R. G. Large, and the important appendix materials make this handsome volume one of the most significant publications in its field.

Sacramento State College

GLORIA GRIFFEN CLINE

THE PAPERS OF WILLIAM HICKLING PRESCOTT. Selected and edited by C. Harvey Gardiner. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1964. Pp. xxx, 441. \$10.00.) This is the seventh volume Professor Gardiner has written or edited on the famous nineteenth-century historian. Probably most important were the two edited volumes of *Literary Memoranda*, taken from Prescott's journals and devoted largely to musings about the historian's craft, but in many ways the most interesting is this volume of edited *Papers*, taken from personal letters and reflecting broadly the mind and society of a New England gentleman. About three-fourths of the material is selected from the huge number of letters Prescott wrote, and one-fourth from correspondence he received. Only a fraction has been published before. One is reminded again of how small the world was and how closely associated the intellectuals of Prescott's day were, for here are letters to and from such historians as Bancroft, Sparks, Palfrey, Motley, Ticknor, Irving, and Macaulay, as well as statesmen and literary men such as Sumner, Webster, Everett, Longfellow, Holmes, and Dickens. The selection is exactly the right length to be read as the papers of famous men ought to be read. A longer selection would bore most readers, and no secondhand account fully satisfies the serious researcher anyway. On Prescott himself, the correspondence reveals no surprises, for his life was too circum-spect for that. Here is no inward struggle of lonely genius, but the calm unfolding of a well-ordered life. After Harvard came the grand tour, the good marriage, the career of leisurely scholarship, and by the 1850's the quiet enjoyment of literary fame, which his works on Spain and on the Spanish conquests of Mexico and Peru had earned. First things came first for a Boston gentleman: warm family life, seasonal moves to the country and seashore, cultivation of friends and enjoyment of the club, rounds of social activities, management of the family fortune, concern for philanthropy and social usefulness, expression of sound political and religious opinions, and occasional trips to New York or Washington for amused observation of the "natives" there. Prescott would have liked this book, with its sound and unostentatious editing, and its handsome format. It is designed for leisurely perusal, as men of Prescott's day liked to peruse history. It is all very civilized.

University of Maryland

GEORGE H. CALLCOTT

A FRENCH JOURNALIST IN THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH: THE LETTERS OF ÉTIENNE DERBEC. Edited by A. P. Nasatir. (Georgetown, Calif.: Talisman Press. 1964. Pp. 258. \$12.50.) Publication of thirteen letters of Étienne Derbec written between February 1, 1850, and May 1, 1851, as a correspondent in the California mines for the Paris newspaper *Journal des Débats*, along with a biographical introduction and notes on sources, constitutes the most recent result of A. P. Nasatir's investigations into French activities in California begun some forty years ago. Derbec, unlike many of his countrymen, did not return to France to live, but died in California in 1889, though he never became an American citizen. He was at various times printer, prospector, and metallurgist, but his major role was as editor of *Echo du Pacifique* (1852-1865), the longest-lived French newspaper in California. According to the jacket, Derbec provides "the best account of the French in the mining districts during the early years of

the gold rush," yet the content of the letters is not so circumscribed as the blurb suggests. Except for one or two specific descriptions of French mining camps, a patriotic flourish now and then, and a brief but biting castigation of Communism in France, the reader often forgets that Derbec is French. The outstanding characteristic of the letters is their range and balance. Derbec writes clearly and engagingly about the growth of San Francisco, gambling in the city and in the mines, California Indians, the Mexican mining community, and prices of consumer goods; he discusses distribution of gold, techniques of placer mining, and land laws and miners' rights; he comments on the cultural scene—churches, theaters, newspapers—and he understands that agriculture is the true key to growth and prosperity in California. Finally, through all the letters run a clear-eyed weighing of the miners' chances and the insistence that American reports grossly misrepresent to Europeans the opportunities for sudden mining wealth. Nasatir's thorough, meticulous, and authoritative editing is flawed by needless repetition and a general infelicity of style.

Montana State University

EDWIN R. BINGHAM

SILVER THEATRE: AMUSEMENTS OF THE MINING FRONTIER IN EARLY NEVADA, 1850 TO 1864. By *Margaret G. Watson*. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1964. Pp. 387. \$9.50.) Margaret Watson has written more than a history of theater, even more than a history of entertainment, in early Nevada, for she has successfully integrated the amusements of the Washoites into a vividly drawn social, economic, and political milieu. Rarely becoming ensnared in irrelevant material, she has caught the essence of the bigger picture without distorting the detail and focus of the principal subject. Beginning with the simple pleasures of the early traders, trappers, and miners, the book proceeds to the celebrations surrounding Nevada's annexation to statehood in 1864. The entertainment in those intervening years was as diverse as the citizenry itself, as the farmers, miners, merchants, gamblers, prostitutes, and church people who flocked to the area all had their own ideas of what constituted a good time. Dances, drinking "Tarantula Juice," games of chance, telling "yarns," races, fights, and hymn singing each had its devotees as well as its critics. By the time Nevada reached territorial status in 1861, it boasted seven theaters and amusement halls. Virginia City especially became one of the leading theatrical centers of the West, receiving many troupes immediately following their engagement in San Francisco, the recognized culture capital of the mining frontier. In fact the titan of San Francisco theater, Thomas Maguire, went to Virginia City in 1863 to build an opera house, slightly larger than its counterpart in California and by far the most impressive structure of its kind in Nevada. Even after the arrival of professional entertainers, diversity remained the keynote in Nevada's amusement, embracing the singing, joking, acting, and reciting of Mart Taylor; the tragedies performed by James Stark; the comedy of Lotta Crabtree; the scandalous Adah Menken, briefly clad, strapped to a live horse in *Mazeppa*; the operatic selections of the Gruenwalds; Blaisdell's Swiss Bell Ringers; and a barrage of minstrel shows and circuses. Of the plays, the tragedies of Shakespeare (particularly *Hamlet* and *Othello*) were perennial favorites, as were *The Lady of Lyons*, *Camille*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and the melodramas of young Dion Boucicault. The author has made frequent, but effective, use of quotations from contemporary newspapers and journals to catch something of the spirit of the times. She devotes one whole chapter to Mark Twain's reaction to Nevada theater during his days on the Virginia City *Enterprise*. The photographs included in *Silver Theatre* are beautifully done; the index is exceptionally thorough. The book appears to have been well researched, although its documentation is not as complete as the professional historian might wish. Still, it is a solid job, delightfully presented.

Michigan State University

RONALD L. DAVIS

BITTER STRENGTH: A HISTORY OF THE CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1870. By *Gunther Barth*. [Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 305. \$5.95.) Many scholars have studied the history of the Chinese in California. Most of these studies centered around the period of antagonism between Caucasians and Chinese in the later part of the nineteenth century and the process of accommodation and acceptance that followed. The early studies were mainly historical and often tried to establish blame; the recent studies are more sociological and have been concerned with sociopsychological aspects. Barth's book covers the first period of Chinese immigration, the time before the actual crisis, when the entry of the Chinese was acclaimed. In this period Chinese workers went into the Sierra to dig gold and worked on the construction of the transcontinental railways. Barth briefly describes the Canton area, from which the immigrants came, and the ways of recruiting and transporting them across the Pacific. He then discusses the Americanization of California and conditions since the end of Spanish rule and the development of California as a state. This situation is really the framework within which Barth views the role and importance of the Chinese in California; he does this without one-sided nationalism. For him, the white settlers were more than land- or gold-hungry individualists; they were people who came with an ideal of a new, free, truly American state. The settlers opposed importing and using Negro slaves, and they turned against the Chinese only when they felt that the immigrants were unfree creatures who had to work under inhuman conditions for Chinese bosses. Barth regards unfair competition as an unimportant element in the total relations between Caucasians and Chinese. For his study Barth used an impressive array of sources; he has carefully gone through obscure contemporary newspapers, memorandums, and pamphlets, and has thus been able to describe life in the Sierra camps and in the Chinatowns of the mid-nineteenth century with more detail and liveliness than earlier writers. But, unfortunately, all of his source material is in English. From reading later Chinese documents written in California, one gains the impression that the early Chinese immigrants regarded California as they regarded Borneo or other parts of Southeast Asia: as a country belonging to those who settled in it. Thus they created camps and settlements, established regular communications between them, sent food, materials, and mail from the coast to the interior and, from the interior, money and mail to China. They also gave the settlements Chinese names, as if they were establishing Chinese communities in a Chinese country. When they realized that the white settlers regarded this same country as theirs, conflicts arose, which, in time, forced the Chinese either to return to China or to adjust to conditions that they were unable to change. These remarks indicate that exclusive use of Chinese sources, if they were systematically collected and analyzed, might yield a completely different picture from the one Barth has presented. Both pictures must be interpreted together for a definitive study. One hopes that Barth will continue the study of the Chinese in the US and that for the later periods, for which Chinese documentation is much easier to find, he will use such texts as profusely as he used American documents for this work.

University of California, Berkeley

WOLFRAM EBERHARD

A HISTORY OF OPERA IN THE AMERICAN WEST. By *Ronald L. Davis*. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. xii, 178. \$4.95.) In the title of this book the emphasis should be placed on "opera." The focus is primarily on the men who have founded opera associations, on memorable singers and productions, and on the theaters and boards where opera has been staged. Thus tales of Jenny Lind and Mary Garden, Geraldine Farrar and Maggie Teyte, Tetrazzini and Melba, Galli-Curci and Callas are all unfolded. As for "the American West," Professor Davis is not concerned with historical

or geographical considerations, but has used "an arbitrary delineation, made to embrace the *major* American opera companies outside the eastern fringe." The chief cities covered are New Orleans, Chicago, San Francisco, Dallas, and some smaller summer festivals such as those at Central City and Santa Fe. New Orleans leads the list because it was the queen city for opera in the United States long before New York ever dreamed of a resident opera company. Indeed we have been so accustomed to think of New Orleans in terms of jazz (for which it finally abandoned its opera) and of New York as the operatic center that the book does provide an important corrective. It also gives high marks in enterprise to cities like San Francisco and Dallas which in some senses have developed opera companies superior, or at least equal, to New York's Metropolitan. The book is short and selective rather than definitive. It is based, nevertheless, on much local newspaper and periodical material, though one sometimes wonders whether Davis might on occasion accept too uncritically newspaper accounts of an event. In the decade following 1946 annual opera productions in the United States rose from 527 to 3,217 (over 9 a day). Such an extensive preoccupation would imply national scope, and Davis' book is thus helpful in illuminating the deeper and broader roots of the growing nationwide interest in opera.

University of California, Riverside

ROBERT V. HINE

THE HEART IS LIKE HEAVEN: THE LIFE OF LYDIA MARIA CHILD. By *Helene G. Baer*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1964. Pp. 339. \$6.50.) In his efforts to improve the position of the Negro in American society, the abolitionist faced a largely hostile audience; more than one hundred years later, his historical image had fared almost as badly as his goals. The stereotype that emerged from innumerable textbooks and historical studies was that of an uncompromising, vituperative, impractical, and humorless zealot; more "sophisticated" investigations complemented this portrait with allegations of emotional instability, social displacement, and possible neuroticism. There can be few more striking refutations of this stereotype than a careful study of the individual abolitionists themselves, especially of the long-neglected "second-line" figures. Such is the case with Lydia Maria Child—novelist, journalist, editor, pamphleteer, and housewife. Here was a woman who moved comfortably in the best intellectual circles of New England, who embraced causes ranging from the abolition of capital punishment to the rights of women, and who consistently refused to compromise her individuality, even in the abolitionist movement. In resigning her position as editor of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, for example, she confessed "that the freedom of my own spirit makes it absolutely necessary for me to retire. I am too distinctly an individual to edit the organ of any association." The professional historian will have many objections to this popularly written biography; the absence of footnotes, for example, makes it impossible to determine to what extent the author has employed her own vivid imagination to re-create certain scenes and conversations; the prose is overly inflated and ornate, resembling in many ways that of her character. Despite these drawbacks, the author—obviously enraptured by her subject—has worked extensively in the scattered correspondence of Child and her friends, as well as in other contemporary materials; indeed, she has even visited the various Child homesites in an effort to know her character better. The result is an interesting and at times very moving story about a dedicated woman agitator who tried to grapple with a disturbed and often uncompromising society, a society which, in fact, placed little value on strong ethical commitments to the abolition of human bondage.

University of California, Berkeley

LEON F. LITWACK

LINCOLN'S GADFLY, ADAM GUROWSKI. By *LeRoy H. Fischer*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1964. Pp. xvii, 301. \$6.95.) Historians have long known of

the Civil War diaries of Count Adam Gurowski that he himself published in three sizable volumes as an indictment of Lincoln's conduct of the war. In this study, which is not a full-length biography, Fischer brings out the diarist's background, motives, and political loyalties with particular reference to his activities in Washington. Born in Poland, Gurowski, as a young university-trained nobleman, became involved in the November Insurrection of 1831 against Russian rule. While in exile he broke with his revolutionary associates, abandoned the cause of Polish independence, and entered into a period of wandering in search of a new physical and spiritual home. He thought he had found it in the Pan-Slav movement under Russian leadership, but the Russians, not trusting him, offered no satisfactory outlet for his talents. Personally frustrated as well as discouraged by the failures of the Revolutions of 1848-1849 in which he had developed sympathetic interest, he emigrated to the United States. Here he consorted with American intellectuals while working for the New York *Tribune*. With the approach of war he moved to Washington and became a self-appointed propagandist for the Radical Republicans who impatiently sought ruthless destruction of the South and slavery while pillorying Lincoln's administration for timidity and vacillation. Though Fischer usually allows Gurowski to speak for himself through his diaries and letters, he sometimes breaks in with his own comments to correct the Count's judgment of people and events during the war. This inconsistency on Fischer's part gives the impression that perhaps the rest of Gurowski's appraisals were valid. Nonetheless, Fischer, as a result of meticulous and exhaustive research, has drawn a clear picture of a brilliant though egotistical, inconsiderate, and violent man who finally found personal salvation in defending the Union which he had grown to love and in promoting the cause of human freedom.

Lafayette College

EDWIN B. CODDINGTON

A HOUSE DIVIDED: A STUDY OF STATEHOOD POLITICS AND THE COPPERHEAD MOVEMENT IN WEST VIRGINIA. By Richard Orr Curry. ([Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1964. Pp. 203. \$5.00.) This book, printed with slight changes from a 1961 dissertation, comes upon the heels of George Ellis Moore's *A Banner in the Hills: West Virginia's Statehood* (1963), which also began as a dissertation (1957). Curry's book, though shorter than Moore's, and less polished, is likely to command more scholarly attention because Curry, as befits a student of Roy F. Nichols, concentrates mainly upon the politics of West Virginia from secession to statehood whereas Moore expends half his space on military operations. Curry's principal findings have already appeared as an article in the *Journal of Southern History* (XXVIII [Nov. 1962], 403-21). Though less lucid than the article, his book affords a fuller examination of the evidence from a commendable array of sources. An avowed revisionist, Curry rejects the "pro-Union" interpretations of Moore and others, notably the late Charles H. Ambler, and argues that between 1830 and 1861 the valley and southwestern counties of Virginia were weaned away from their former alignment with the north-west; that the county-by-county returns of the referendum on secession, here assembled and analyzed for the first time, show that 40 per cent of the people and half of the fifty counties in West Virginia were Confederate in disposition; that enlargement of the state beyond the thirty-nine counties to which unionist sentiment or geography entitled it was the paradoxical result of an effort to defeat statehood by pressing for preposterously wide boundaries; that a distinct copperhead movement (the term "Copperhead" is used almost as an encomium) arose in West Virginia when Congress made gradual emancipation a condition of statehood; and that this copperheadism, together with the Confederate leanings of half the counties, permitted former Confederates to become political leaders of the state within ten years after the war. As revisionists sometimes do, Curry displays touches of gamesmanship in occasionally overstressing

the mistakes of his predecessors or overstating his own conclusions, but on the whole his arguments are persuasive.

University of Texas

BARNES F. LATHROP

THE TRIUMPH OF MILITANT REPUBLICANISM: A STUDY OF PENNSYLVANIA AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS 1860-1872. By *Erwin Stanley Bradley*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1964. Pp. 467. \$8.50.) In the past twenty-five years some half-dozen volumes have appeared describing Pennsylvania politics from 1740 to 1848; the present volume continues the story through the Civil War and part of Reconstruction. The reader becomes familiar with the maze of state politics as Professor Bradley carefully leads him through the details of conventions, caucuses, and campaigns. The footnotes reveal the mass of materials examined: manuscripts, government documents, newspapers, political pamphlets, and many books. There are a satisfactory index, an excellent bibliography, fine illustrations, and valuable appendixes analyzing votes for governor and President by Pennsylvania counties from 1860 through 1872. The author discusses the struggle among and within the political parties, as well as the occasional collusion between them; he also refers to the role of the Pennsylvania Railroad in politics. Actually, much of the book concerns the bitter feud between Andrew Curtin, war governor, and Simon Cameron for control of Pennsylvania Republicans. The cause of the bitterness is not entirely clear, but there is no doubt of the result: the complete triumph of Cameron and the affirmation of the Cameron-Quay hegemony. Although Bradley probably regards Curtin as his hero, he never, in my opinion, quite makes the governor come alive. Curtin is always "the great war governor," but I had trouble remembering his accomplishments. Cameron, on the other hand, moves about larger than life, a buccaneer who knew what he wanted and how to get it. His methods were not admirable, but one admits a sneaking respect for his political acumen. This useful book will be helpful for reference not only on Pennsylvania politics but also generally for the politics of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Much of later Pennsylvania political history can, moreover, be explained in terms of what the author has so painstakingly put together here.

American University

DOROTHY D. GONDOS

POLIGNAC'S TEXAS BRIGADE. By *Alwyn Barr*. [Publication Series, Volume VIII, Number 1.] ([Houston:] Texas Gulf Coast Historical Association. 1964. Pp. 72. \$3.00.) There was a brigade of Confederate Texans occupied in the trans-Mississippi theater of the Civil War whose activities had all but been lost in the accounts written of those four years. Many of the men in the brigade originally came from a particular area in north Texas, which was partially unionist in character; numbers of them lacked zest for the war. Brigaded in July 1862, these men formed three Texas cavalry regiments: the Twenty-second, the Thirty-first, and the Thirty-fourth. They were later dismounted to serve as infantry. In 1863 they were joined with a command composed of Texans who were fortunate enough to escape when Arkansas Post was captured. Also in 1863 Prince Camille de Polignac became the brigade's commander. This Frenchman was the only foreigner to achieve a Confederate generalship. The son of the last Prime Minister of Charles X of France, he was unpopular at first, but he soon gained the respect and regard of his men. For three years, the men who composed the original three cavalry regiments and thus formed the nucleus of a Confederate brigade, fought from Missouri to Louisiana in defense of the Trans-Mississippi Department. Polignac's effective leadership at Sabine Crossroads, as a part of the Battle of Mansfield, Louisiana, in April 1864 is adequately described. *Polignac's Texas Brigade* is well documented and provides information on events in a limited area in the trans-Mississippi region during the Civil War.

Records of the participation of the Texans who composed this brigade had been obscured to history; the rediscovery of these records is a contribution.

Texas Christian University

W. C. NUNN

THE MIGHTY REVOLUTION: NEGRO EMANCIPATION IN MARYLAND, 1862-1864. By *Charles Lewis Wagandt*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 299. \$6.50.) This detailed recounting of the political maneuverings in Maryland that led to that state's emancipating its slaves begins with the rioting in Baltimore when the Sixth Massachusetts passed through the city on April 19, 1861, and ends when a new, anti-slavery state constitution went into effect on November 1, 1864. For nearly a year after the riots any mention of emancipation was taboo in Maryland politics. The state had thrown in its lot with the North, but only for the purpose of preserving the Union, not to end slavery. Then, on March 6, 1862, Lincoln's offer of federal compensation for state emancipation opened a rift within the ranks of Maryland unionists. Most of them at first spurned Lincoln's offer, but Montgomery Blair and Henry Winter Davis saw how the tide was running and fought each other for control of the emancipation movement in Maryland. Davis, the radical "Unconditional Unionist," had the support of the Union League and the help of Federal troops at election times. In the fall of 1863 he and his faction swept into power. They were able to control the election of delegates to a constitutional convention, and that body put an end to slavery in Maryland. The author includes in his book a chapter describing the flight of slaves from their masters and their enlistment in Union armies. Except for this and his account of the intervention of Federal troops in Maryland elections, he does not stray much from the story of politicians and parties. He does point out that there was more to the "mighty revolution" than just the freeing of Maryland's slaves, that the state's social, economic, and political structures were all being revolutionized, and he particularly mentions the reapportionment of the legislature, which was both a cause and an effect of the shifting of political power from the planter aristocracy to the rising urban middle class.

University of Florida

GEORGE R. BENTLEY

ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON: SOLDIER OF THREE REPUBLICS. By *Charles P. Roland*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 384. \$6.50.) No other Civil War figure was quite like Albert Sidney Johnston, no other career of the war quite like his. The second ranking full general of the Confederacy, he was its ranking field general. In 1861 he commanded the huge Department Number Two, stretching from Kentucky and Tennessee and the Appalachian Mountains on the east to the Indian Territory beyond the Mississippi River, possibly the largest geographic command held by one general during the war. Hailed by President Davis and the public as a great general, he was expected to accomplish miracles. Then came a period of reverses, and on April 6, 1862, at the Battle of Shiloh, he was struck down by a stray bullet and died. He fell, people would soon say, as he was about to accomplish a great victory which his successor threw away. He became even more of a legend dead—generations of southerners believed that if he had lived he would somehow have changed the course of the war. This was a life with all the tragic ingredients to tempt biographers. Yet the only account to appear was a eulogistic work published by his son in 1878. Doubtless writers avoided the subject because the career seemed cut off too soon, because the period of glory and greatness seemed too short. Now Professor Charles Roland, undaunted by the artistic difficulty, has written the first modern biography of the man. Roland emphasizes that Johnston had a fairly significant career before the war as an officer in the Regular Army, as one of the architects of the Texas Republic, and as the leader of the American expedition against the Utah Mormons. Fourteen of the book's eighteen chapters are devoted to this pre-1860 phase. They are, although necessarily

concerned on occasion with small matters, a contribution to military and frontier history. But it is the four chapters on the war that are of greatest interest and importance. In them Roland traces Johnston's command problems and his evolution as a commander. There were evolution and progress, the author insists, a contention that some critics would dispute. On this issue one wishes that Roland had given us more of the sources of Johnston's military thought. Roland concedes that Johnston made some mistakes, the worst one at Fort Donelson, but he was developing as a field commander at the time of his death and would have grown still more. Just how far Johnston might have gone Roland does not say, but it is evident that he thinks the general had some of the elements of greatness. Johnston had notably great powers of leadership and might have inspired his army to final victory at Shiloh if he had lived. Thus the book ends on an "iffy" note, as a book about Johnston must. Roland presents this speculation and most of his other "ifs" with sober restraint. This careful work should become the classic treatment of Johnston.

Louisiana State University

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

FREEDOM UNDER LINCOLN. By *Dean Sprague*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1965. Pp. viii, 340. \$5.95.) Even the title of this book is deficient. It promises an analysis of war-altered conditions of freedom during Lincoln's White House years, a subject deserving serious inquiry. The dust jacket (but not the title page) bears a subtitle—"Federal Power and Personal Liberty under the Strain of Civil War"—which adds to a reader's frustration, for its promise is as unfulfilled as that of the title. Instead the author offers a swift, superficial overview of northern internal security policies especially in the critical Border State areas from April 1861 through February 1862. Unfortunately Dr. Sprague fails to increase our knowledge or understanding of these well-known matters. His book provides neither illumination struck from imaginative digging into available newer manuscript sources nor insight derived from deep immersion in the great mass of familiar printed materials or "standard" manuscript collections. He was content to exploit a congeries of polemical printed accounts in newspapers, books, and pamphlets, items from the *Official Records* and Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*, and a few manuscript collections at the Library of Congress. Yet many monographs center on his subject, and in several of its record groups the National Archives holds immense amounts of pertinent, contemporary, and little-used sources. There is little reason further to labor the point. Enumeration of all the inadequacies that fill this volume requires more reviewing space than the task merits. The book is a flat failure.

University of Illinois

HAROLD M. HYMAN

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG DECLARATION: "A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM." By *Louis A. Warren*. (Fort Wayne, Ind.: Lincoln National Life Foundation. 1964. Pp. xix, 236. \$5.95.) LINCOLN AND THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS: COMMEMORATIVE PAPERS. By *John Dos Passos et al.* Edited by *Allan Nevins*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1964. Pp. 133. \$2.95.) These two works have the same subject, but they are quite different books. Dr. Warren's volume is primarily a meticulous examination of events and circumstances pertaining to the address at Gettysburg on November 19, 1863: the decision to hold a program of dedication at the battlefield; the invitations to Lincoln and to Edward Everett to speak; Lincoln's travel from Washington to Gettysburg and return, and his actions while in Gettysburg; his composition of the address; the various texts of Lincoln's remarks; the varying reactions to what Lincoln said. Included also is the text of Everett's speech. While Warren discusses the ideas expressed by Lincoln at Gettysburg and the origins or backgrounds of those ideas, the primary emphasis of his book is upon the detailed narrative of events. Some of the minutiae in

Warren's volume may become tedious to some readers, telling them more than they want to know—as, for example, the number and location of persons seated on the platform with Lincoln and Everett. In view of the importance of Lincoln's address, however, even the minutiae of the surrounding circumstances can be of interest to someone at sometime, and a number of the particulars are of moment to almost anyone who is interested in the address itself. Thus, a full presentation of evidence seems defensible. In contrast to Warren's approach and focus stand all but one of the essays in the volume edited by Professor Nevins. That volume consists of commemorative papers, presented, we are told in the preface, at an evening program in Washington, D. C., "a few weeks after the centenary of the Gettysburg Address." The program was sponsored by the Civil War Centennial Commission, of which Nevins is chairman, and he contributed an introduction to the book. The six papers are: "Lincoln and His Almost Chosen People," by John Dos Passos; "Lincoln and the Law," by Arthur Lehman Goodhart; "The Religion of Abraham Lincoln," by Reinhold Niebuhr; "On the Gettysburg Address," plus two poems, by Robert Lowell; "The Significance of Gettysburg," by Paul H. Douglas; and "Unknown at This Address," by David C. Mearns. The essay by Mearns considers the same sort of question (and some of the same questions) raised in Warren's book. The other five essays, however, are focused on selected aspects of Lincoln's ideas and experiences, discussing those ideas and experiences in general terms, with the Gettysburg Address as a sort of springboard from which to launch the discussion. To historians who keep more or less abreast of the steady stream of writings concerning Lincoln, the points made in some of the essays will probably seem familiar. But, presumably, the essays were not written for that audience, and to nonspecialists the book may well prove to be stimulating and illuminating. After reading two volumes one is impressed once again with the genius of the individual whose 265 words inspired not only these books but also countless other analyses of varying lengths since 1863. One is also impressed with the courage of individuals who by commenting upon the Gettysburg Address invite comparisons between their comments and the original—for that address, in the language traditionally ascribed to the theater, remains an exceedingly "tough act to follow."

University of Washington

THOMAS J. PRESSLY

THE ADVENTURES OF A PRISONER OF WAR, 1863-1864. By *Decimus et Ultimus Barziza*. Edited by R. Henderson Shuffler. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 140. \$4.50.) In 1857 a young man with the improbable name of Decimus et Ultimus Barziza migrated from Williamsburg, Virginia, to Owensville, Texas. He was the son of Viscount Filippo Ignacio Barziza who had come from Venice to Virginia to claim an inheritance which he soon found had melted away in litigation. Whatever else he may have lost, however, he retained something of a bizarre sense of humor for in a Williamsburg tavern, celebrating the birth of his tenth child, he decided this would be the last; thus the child was christened "Tenth and Last." Young Barziza was a graduate of William and Mary and upon his arrival in Texas took up the study of law at Baylor University. His practice had hardly begun, however, when the Civil War came to Texas. Laying aside his law books he enlisted in the Fourth Regiment of Texas infantry as a lieutenant. When the regiment reached Virginia it was assigned a young colonel—tall, bearded, sad-eyed John Bell Hood. As other Texas regiments arrived, they were formed into a brigade, and Hood became their brigadier. Thus originated one of the most picturesque and effective of Lee's fighting units: Hood's Texas Brigade. Young Barziza (now captain) fought with the brigade at Seven Pines, Gaines Mill, and finally at Gettysburg where he was wounded and taken prisoner to Johnson's Island in Lake Erie. His prison life and subsequent escape (by jumping from a train while being shifted from one prison to another) through Canada is the subject of his little book published anonymously and privately in Houston, Texas, in February 1865. Only two

copies of the original edition, however, are known to exist. Barziza was a literate man with a sense of humor, and his book is well written. He appears in the role of reporter, philosopher, and poet; at times one wishes he had eschewed his philosophizing and poetizing and stuck to reporting events he witnessed. (At times he wrote about things he obviously learned from gossip and rumor.) One especially wishes he had written more about escaped Confederate prisoners in Canada waiting to be repatriated through the blockade as he was. This is a little-known phase of Civil War history. Despite some weaknesses, however, the book is valuable. R. Henderson Shuffler, director of the Texana Program at the University of Texas, deserves great credit for rescuing the book from oblivion and for doing an excellent job of editing it.

Tulane University

JOHN P. DYER

JEFFERSON DAVIS: TRAGIC HERO. THE LAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS, 1864-1889. By *Hudson Strode*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1964. Pp. xx, 556. \$7.50.) In this final volume of his trilogy on Jefferson Davis, Hudson Strode covers the last twenty-five years of the Confederate President's life, from January 1, 1864, to December 6, 1889. Nearly half of the book he gives to the concluding months of the Civil War, a period that saw victorious Federal armies tighten the noose of defeat ever closer about the neck of the Confederacy. Strode pictures the often ill and always humorless Davis, in these dark months, as a popular hero trying to rally his people. Ignoring the fact that Davis was neither very popular nor especially able, Strode blames not the unstoppable Federal armies for the ultimate defeat of the Confederacy but rather Davis' enemies from within, "self-seeking politicians, malicious editors, and egotistical generals." Strode fails to see that these enemies from within were the offspring of a more basic enemy: states' rights. In love with Davis the man and Davis the states' rights constitutionalist, Strode is intellectually incapable of dealing with the problem of states' rights. He sees nothing wrong in a government that subordinates the President to the state governors in a wartime emergency. For instance, when Vice-President Stephens traitorously attacked the Confederate government's conscription law and its suspension of the habeas corpus, claiming they violated states' rights and personal liberty, Strode naively remarks: "He did not seem to realize that without the Confederacy's success there could be no real liberty." Davis dedicated himself in his postwar years to expounding his view "that the Southern States had the Constitutional right to secede" and that the North should "stand convicted of making an unjustifiable war" against his beloved Confederacy. As a disciple of Davis, Strode outdoes even the most devoted Daughter of the Confederacy. To him the Civil War was a war for independence, and he cannot understand why Americans should not honor Davis as they do Washington. Both were heroes fighting for independence! The jacket of this volume baldly states that Strode's work on Davis has "established him as a Southern historian." Strode is no historian, southern or otherwise. He either has not read or has ignored most of the recent historical literature on the Confederacy, the Reconstruction era, and the origins of the New South. Consequently, his vast new information about Davis is of little use to the historian. His most serious oversight in this respect is his failure, or refusal, to see how Henry W. Grady, the symbol of the New South "fraud," resurrected and exploited, in 1886, the gray-clad image of Davis in creating the "myth of the Old South," and, incidentally, in repairing the political fortunes of a not very honorable former Confederate General Gordon.

University of Arkansas

WALTER L. BROWN

COLONEL EDWARD M. HOUSE: THE TEXAS YEARS, 1858-1912. By *Rupert Norval Richardson*. ([Abilene, Texas:] the Author; [distrib. by Hardin-Simmons University Book Store, Abilene, Texas]. 1964. Pp. xi, 344. \$7.00.) Colonel Edward M. House has received his share of attention as a behind-the-scenes political manager of national

and even international stature during the Woodrow Wilson era, but his grass-roots training as a kingmaker in Texas has been slighted previously. By focusing in great detail on the nearly two decades of House's maneuvering at state level, Professor Richardson now lets us see the genesis and steady growth of House into a man to be reckoned with by the nation. House belies the caricature of the end of the century Texas and southern politician. A man of impeccable taste, he worked almost unnoticed until the results of his work could no longer be ignored. No dilettante in politics, as often charged, nor one who preferred power to public responsibility, he served Texas governors the same way he did President Wilson—without pay and without public recognition. Richardson believes that House liked to work on public affairs, and that, mainly, his work compulsion was what caused him to carve his unique career. Occasionally, according to the author, his preference for certain people, or prejudice against certain other people, motivated his activities. He never formed a machine in the generally accepted sense, but changed favored candidates as men delivered or disappointed. He held to the rule that men lose influence by being too much in evidence, and only when some favored legislation failed to get pushed past the Texas legislature did he express a desire to be governor himself. This book takes a long look—generally affectionate but not uncritical—at this man in the shadows, and the result is to illumine House so brightly as to dispel much of the myth and mystery in which he has previously been enveloped. The author has himself performed a public service.

University of Texas

JOE B. FRANTZ

RAILROADS, LANDS, AND POLITICS: THE TAXATION OF THE RAILROAD LAND GRANTS, 1864-1897. By *Leslie E. Decker*. [American History Research Center.] (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 435. \$15.00.) In the twentieth century American railroads can make a fairly good case for the proposition that they are overtaxed, at least as compared to airlines, trucks, and barges, which continue to receive generous direct and indirect government subsidies. In the late nineteenth century when many western railroads were themselves receiving land grants it is not difficult to find many instances of tax avoidance and evasion by the railroad industry. In this volume Professor Decker studies the whole complex problem of the taxation of western railroad land grants in the generation after the Civil War. Original legislation that was permissive, judicial decisions that were inherently difficult, land-office practices that seemed inordinately slow—all these further complicated a situation already confused. The author covers in turn the roles played by judges, legislators, land-office administrators, railroad operators, and local tax officials and political leaders. Very wisely Decker limits his detailed examination to two states, Kansas and Nebraska. He finds that the railroads often did postpone the placing of some of their lands on the tax rolls by delaying the selection and patenting of them. On the other hand once railroad land or property was taxable, it was often assessed and taxed at a higher rate than other private property. The book is not easy reading, but the author is remarkably objective in his entire treatment of a difficult topic. More than forty tables are useful in illustrating land-office procedures, railroad land policies, and general tax patterns in both states. A lengthy appendix shows the development of land taxability in each of 137 townships in 6 selected Kansas and Nebraska counties. An extensive bibliography and a brief index conclude the volume. All serious students of railroad history will welcome Decker's analysis of a difficult and complex subject.

Purdue University

JOHN F. STOVER

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN GEORGIA: FROM RECONSTRUCTION THROUGH 1900. By *Olive Hall Shadgett*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 210. \$6.00.) This valuable study is hardly a success story. Georgia Republicans

never came close to winning the state's presidential vote after 1868, lost power in 1872, and did not nominate a candidate for governor after 1876. Summarizing the Reconstruction era, the author concentrates on the party's activities during the 1880's and 1890's. Her views on the Republican party during Reconstruction are not revisionist, but she sees the period as something less than entirely corrupt. By 1900 Republicans maintained a formal organization, but offered no competition to the Democrats. The party of Lincoln received a final blow when Georgia adopted a state-wide primary law in 1898 that became a white primary in 1900. This meant that the election became the primary, and the general election was only a formality. In the interval before this the party had undergone a steady deterioration. Former Whigs were unable to make political cause with postwar Republicans because the party was so closely linked with the Negro and Reconstruction chaos. As white men deserted the party it fell into disrepute and inactivity. Most of its members were Negroes, but the spoils of office and patronage went to whites. Internal disputes, a decline in leadership, and relentless opposition from the Democrats combined to eliminate the Republican threat. Attempted fusion with the Populists in the 1890's proved ineffectual. There are no official records of Georgia's Republican party, but the author has made good use of newspapers, government documents, and manuscripts. Written in a clear, concise style, the book is a contribution to Georgia and southern history.

Florida State University

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

DOWN THE COLORADO. By *Robert Brewster Stanton*. Edited and with an introduction by *Dwight L. Smith*. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 45.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xxv, 237. \$5.00.) It seems incredible to us today that three-quarters of a century ago a group of hardheaded businessmen should have believed in the feasibility of a railroad running down the spectacular chasms of the Colorado River to the Gulf of California, and then overland to San Diego. Yet the idea was born, and on March 25, 1889, these men founded the Denver, Colorado Canyon, and Pacific Railroad, elected a slate of officers, raised money, and prepared for an exploration of the proposed route by a leading railroad surveyor and mining consultant, Robert Brewster Stanton. He possessed an explorer's tenacity if not the requisite patience for the preliminary research and thorough preparations that are so necessary an adjunct of all successful explorations. He pushed his survey through in two expeditions in which three men were drowned and a fourth suffered a broken leg. When the job was finished, he pronounced the projected railroad as being feasible. Then, as the years passed, the railroad was forgotten, but Stanton became a devotee of Colorado River history. He never published his great work on the river, of which this work is a part, but in 1932 his *Colorado River Controversies* appeared, and since some of the controversies involved Stanton, it is surprising that Professor Smith failed to mention the book in his brief introduction. This is Stanton's story, however. It is well written though not of literary merit (when compared with Powell's *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West*), and Smith has shown excellent judgment in leaving it almost entirely alone. A somewhat more detailed introduction and at least a one-page bibliography of secondary sources for the general reader would have been useful additions. Still, with its photographs, sketches and geologic profiles, a map and a good index, the book constitutes a worth-while contribution to Colorado River lore.

Florida State University

RICHARD A. BARTLETT

TWO PATHS TO UTOPIA: THE HUTTERITES AND THE LLANO COLONY. By *Paul K. Conkin*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 212. \$5.00.) Here is a thoughtful contribution to the rather extensive (but too rarely analytical) literature of communitarian movements. Professor Conkin tells the double story of

the largest and oldest communal Christian sect in the world and also of the last significant secular utopia in America: the Hutterites and the Llano colony. Save for the epilogue, the accounts stand independently; yet it is the juxtaposition of the two communist visions, Christian and profane, both in tension with the individualistic temper of American society, that gives the study its special sharpness. The Hutterites, an Anabaptist Left-wing Reformation sect, migrated to the United States and Canada in the late nineteenth century and today number approximately 14,000, living in 142 colonies, eclipsing in size and wealth all other communal groups. Established in 1914, the Llano colony of socialists (of a wide and undisciplined variety) migrated to Louisiana in 1918 and remained there until its final liquidation in 1939, a long (if not always happy) life by the actuarial tables of secular communitarianism. The Hutterites were sustained by the purity of their vision and the intensity of their faith, but also by the authoritarianism of their indoctrination and discipline. The Llanoites faced far less persecution (after all, improvident radicals are not deemed as dangerous as prosperous pacifists), but lacking a body of dogma and prizing intellectual freedom, they were more vulnerable. As to the future, the extension of economic affluence diminishes the appeal of secular utopias, while the fragmentation, depersonalization, and externalization of modern society enhances the appeal of religious community. The author's research is impressive. His writing is dispassionate, but not cynical; sympathetic, but not sentimental. His insights are more informed by philosophy and theology than by sociology and psychology, and somehow this seems appropriate.

University of North Carolina

ROBERT MOATS MILLER

VARIETIES OF REFORM THOUGHT: JANE ADDAMS; SAMUEL GOMPERS; THE CIVIC FEDERATION OF CHICAGO; ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE; EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY; ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE. By *Daniel Levine*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1964. Pp. xiii, 149. \$3.00.) This work assumes that available views of some of the better-known, pre-World War I reform movements have been syntheses, but that it is not clear whether these adequately explain the motivations or programs of specific reformers. Not all of them feared their status in society was being impugned. They cannot all be categorically distinguished as Neo-Jeffersonians or Neo-Hamiltonians. They did not reflect patently rural or urban solutions to social problems. Such views are here exemplified in essays on "non-Populists" who appeared roughly in the 1890's and were active throughout the so-called "Reform Era." They thus span the Populist and Progressive sagas, and presumably enlighten both. Jane Addams is seen as having sought "social unity," as contrasted with Gompers, who espoused "social conflict." The Civic Federation of Chicago, headed by people of high social position and means, sought neither, but supported the *status quo* in the face of economic depressions and other disorder breeding phenomena. Beveridge is seen here as scarcely a reformer at all until 1906, when his passion for racism, social domination, and social control turned him toward Progressivism. Edgar Gardner Murphy, with his program for southern social reform—a compound of traditional southern values plus humanitarianism—and La Follette, who hoped to speak with a larger voice than that of the Midwest, complete the gallery. These essays divide roughly into biographical sections and analyses of program content. They perceive the reformers as more complex than several indicated "groups" of historians have held them to have been. The relative brevity of the essays makes them more suggestive than convincing, and individual readers will doubtless differ from them on many points. Was Addams condescending to her lower-class charges despite her avowed equalitarianism, or were her views of them justifiable by objective standards? Was Gompers' view of society schismatic, setting workers against capitalists, or was he the opportunist and "labor faker" of radical opprobrium? Such questions are not challenges to logic and artifacts of research so much

as to the creation of a broader pattern of society within which these personages, and their critics, all functioned. Gompers may not have been any more of an opportunist than anyone else; Addams' self-consciousness of genteel birth and capacity may not have harmed the union organizing activities of Hull House. They certainly did so less than Gompers' tolerance of racketeers in AF of L ranks. In short, the larger social context could be more strategic than the mere variations in reformers' personalities. Thus, the following statement may be questionable: "For varying periods of time large numbers of people coming from different directions *and having different destinations* [italics mine] found themselves on the same road. Looking about them and seeing a multitude, they concluded they were part of an army. This bit of self-deception gave them confidence in their strength, but we should not allow it to deceive us." Could the same be said of Jefferson and John Adams during the revolutionary period? Students of reform, antireform, and nonreform will find these essays interesting and thought-provoking, and may wonder about the role of the individual in the Great Society.

Antioch College

LOUIS FILLER

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE MUCKRAKERS. By *David Mark Chalmers*. (New York: Citadel Press. 1964. Pp. 127. \$1.75.) When David Graham Phillips' series of articles, "The Treason of the Senate," first appeared, Theodore Roosevelt became considerably irked by this journalistic attack. Using a passage from Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, the President derisively dubbed all exposé writers muckrakers. Upon calmer reflection, Roosevelt realized that magazine writers might well perform a valuable service. "The men with the muckrakes," he asserted, "are often indispensable to the well-being of society; but only if they know when to stop raking the muck, and to look upward to the celestial crown above them, to the crown of worthy endeavor." That the muckrakers did look upward, that they went beyond commercial sensationalism and moralistic indignation, and that they did offer specific solutions to the ills they beheld is the thesis of this book. David M. Chalmers' volume, an original paperback, is unlike the two classic studies of muckraking by Louis Filler and Cornelius C. Regier, for it is neither as biographical nor as all-inclusive. It is, rather, a competent analysis based on both primary and secondary sources of the economic philosophies of the leading muckrakers. Notwithstanding the title, the author is concerned primarily with economic, not social or political ideas. Of necessity Chalmers has omitted consideration of some important journalists, but no one can quibble with his selection of thirteen representative writers. Included in this study are such notables as Steffens, Baker, Tarbell, Hendricks, and lesser known writers like Will Irwin, Alfred Henry Lewis, and Christopher P. Connolly. After an introductory chapter, the author unobtrusively and for organizational purposes ranks his journalists in terms of their attitude toward capitalism. Thus, George Kibbe Turner, who believed that all the problems of society could be cured if businessmen were given the reins of government, is discussed first, while Charles Edward Russell, an outspoken Socialist, is discussed last. The center of this economic continuum is occupied by Samuel H. Adams, while Phillips and Steffens hold near-Socialist positions. The last and most valuable chapter of the book is aptly entitled "The Celestial Crown." Here Chalmers shows that contrary to the Bunyan quotation the man with the rake does exchange it for a crown. He argues that the muckrakers were basically moderates who arrived at the conclusion that all of society's problems resulted from the failure of businessmen to accept their social responsibility. This all too simple castigation of the wealthy is never challenged by Chalmers. His purpose is not to criticize the muckrakers, but rather to delineate their philosophy, a task that he does succinctly and well. Yet, despite his promise in the preface to raise questions about the "revisionist" interpretation of the progressive movement, he fails to do so. Nor does he, although he has ample opportunity, discuss the

causes of progressivism as viewed by the muckrakers. This, however, is only a slight blemish in what is otherwise an excellent volume.

Youngstown University

SIDNEY I. ROBERTS

PROGRESSIVES AND URBAN SCHOOL REFORM: THE PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK CITY, 1895-1954. By *Sol Cohen*. [Teachers College Studies in Education.] (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. 1964. Pp. xi, 273. \$6.50.) Refreshingly, Sol Cohen's thorough and well-written study of New York City's Public Education Association is not a narrow house history, but is rather a case study of middle-class social reform. Cohen traces the rise of the PEA from its Good Government Club, anti-Tammany beginnings in the 1890's. In contrast with more politically oriented reform groups, however, the PEA survived the disillusionment of reformers early in the new century and became institutionalized first as the critical outside conscience of the New York City schools and then as the inside lay ally of the school department, a role it still plays today. Cohen recounts the successes and failures of the organization, showing that the vigor and effectiveness of the PEA were in direct relationship to the extent of the apparent evils it fought. When the school department was relatively in tune with the progressive ends of the organization, such as in the 1930's, the PEA lost vitality. The PEA from its earliest days was an upper-middle-class group, drawing its leadership from well-established old families and from successful German-Jewish groups. Ironically, few of these people sent their own children to the city's public schools; their activity was reform in the abstract, and their policies, often removed from the school system's most telling needs, reflected this, explaining why no broad base of popular support went to the association. Indeed by 1920 the PEA deliberately sought to keep school business out of popular discussion, believing that education was better served if pressure came from within the system itself and from established good government organizations. Thus, like so many other such social action groups, the PEA seemed often to be at the fringes of the real problems and of the real power centers. Not surprisingly, the same people who were anti-Tammany were educational progressives. Cohen's book clearly shows this tie: the upper-middle-class political utopian (who as often looked backward as forward) saw education as a panacea and grasped firmly the doctrines of the PEA and kindred spirits in the obligation of the school to concern itself with the "whole child." The PEA politically was often far from the realities of New York City Hall; educationally it was often equally far from the realities of the city's classrooms. Cohen, however, paints in the PEA's successes more boldly than its failures; his overenthusiasm is the book's major flaw, and even then it is not a serious one. He has used a wide range of sources, and his critical bibliography is excellent. The book, not surprisingly, was written while Cohen was at Columbia's Teachers College with Lawrence Cremin. It is an important contribution to the literature of progressive education defined, as Cremin does, as "the educational phase of American Progressivism writ large."

Harvard University

THEODORE R. SIZER

SECONDARY SCHOOLS AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY. By *Theodore R.Sizer*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 304. \$6.00.) With this well-organized and judicious monograph Dean Sizer meets the need for a thorough study of the background, authorship, and effects of the *Report of the Committee on Secondary School Studies* (1893), commonly known as "The Report of the Committee of Ten." He demonstrates that the committee's recommendations for standardizing college entrance requirements and the American secondary-school curriculum were neither conservative nor radical. They were opposed by "conservative" advocates of mental discipline through classical linguistic training, particularly by teachers of Greek; they

were attacked by "radicals" who endorsed vocational subjects to prepare for active life. To most of the committee's members there was no difference between education for life or for college. The middle position of the *Report* in this recurring debate between ancients and moderns was intensely practical, in keeping with the views and temperament of its chief author and spokesman, Charles William Eliot. Indeed most of the book becomes an important addition to Henry James's biography of Eliot as well as to our knowledge of the work of William Torrey Harris and Nicholas Murray Butler. Because Eliot and his colleagues, in their *Report*, neglected to analyze the place of the school in American society at large and failed to anticipate the problems of phenomenally rising enrollments, political control, rural schools, or dull students, one may well question whether they were as "practical" for the long run as Eliot intended. Still the *Report* emphasized what was desperately needed in the 1890's: good teaching of traditional classical subjects and mathematics, plus full acceptance in the secondary schools of English, history, French, German, and the natural and physical sciences. Aided by the distinguished reputations of its signers and by the publicity initially given it by Butler in his *Educational Review*, the *Report* influenced at least two decades of high school administrators and teachers. Not until the rise of a new generation of school theorists led by John Dewey and Edward L. Thorndike did its guidelines lose their persuasiveness. All this Sizer tells clearly in prose that, like Eliot's, is "spare" and "direct." Unlike Eliot and his committee, Sizer in his early chapters does portray the inadequate condition of secondary education in American towns and cities around 1890. His is an illuminating work of scholarship on a report which, even though it was almost outmoded at birth owing to the rapidly changing educational needs of the country, remains one of the few memorable statements of American secondary-school aims. (The entire *Report* is reprinted in an appendix.)

University of California, Davis

WILSON SMITH

CONSERVATISM IN A PROGRESSIVE ERA: MASSACHUSETTS POLITICS, 1900-1912. By *Richard M. Abrams*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 327. \$6.95.) Although Massachusetts appears to have been politically conservative during the progressive era, Richard M. Abrams demonstrates that the Bay State had enacted before 1900 much of the program usually labeled "progressive." When these measures were challenged, progressives fought to hold gains already made, and became, in a sense, conservative. Reformers also won further victories, notably in the administrations of Curtis Guild (1906-1908) and Eugene Foss (1911-1913). Reform came early to Massachusetts partly because industrialization came early. Reform came also, Abrams says, because of "noncommercial, public-spirited ideals." When the reform impulse spread to the rest of the nation, the Bay State paradoxically moved Right. For progressives elsewhere attacked the tariff, for instance, which Massachusetts industrialists believed essential to continued prosperity. Demands for a favorable business climate brought fewer restrictions on corporations and eroded an earlier ethic. The Republican party mixed reform with stress on fiscal responsibility to dominate state politics. Democrats provided no practical alternative; a reform platform revealed internal divisions that brought defeat. They could win only with a tycoon like William L. Douglas, whose ideology was almost Republican. Nor did reformers join the Progressive party in 1912. A few amateurs were enthusiastically idealistic, but the core of the party was disgruntled politicians who subordinated principle to position. Abrams' account is properly centered in Boston, though he has used newspapers from other cities. His omission of the Catholic press seems odd. The *Boston Pilot*, for example, broke its Democratic habit to endorse Roosevelt in 1904, a fact that would have strengthened Abrams' interpretation of the election. Abrams argues that the economic impact of organized labor and the growing political activity of immigrants changed conditions

that had permitted patrician reform. His failure, therefore, to cite labor journals and the foreign-language press is also surprising. The factual lapses are not crucial. (The Industrial Workers of the World is called the International Workers of the World, for instance.) The study shows that the conservative could play an enlightened and important part in the progressive era. The Massachusetts conservative often tried to preserve reform; progressives elsewhere made the task more difficult.

Phillips Exeter Academy

HENRY F. BEDFORD

MR. CRUMP OF MEMPHIS. By *William D. Miller*. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 373. \$6.75.) In 1909 Edward Hull Crump was elected mayor of Memphis, Tennessee, on the type of Progressive platform that promised "business government" in place of venality and chaos. Seven years later the state administration removed him from office on charges of failure to enforce the prohibition laws—charges that Crump's biographer considers a smoke screen behind which private-utility interests sought to remove from the scene an advocate of public power. They failed, however, and during the next decade Crump built an organization that was to prove invincible in Memphis and Shelby County to the time of his death in 1954. That organization supported the New Deal and helped bring TVA power to Memphis. But it also constituted one of the most repressive urban machines in recent American history. In the process of recounting Crump's career, Professor William D. Miller makes it superabundantly clear that the Memphis boss was a model son, husband, and father. Described in sometimes tedious detail, too, are the innumerable political battles wherein Crump made and broke with mayors, governors, and congressmen. Crump's mastery of invective is also apparent: in newspaper advertisements he referred to assorted editors who opposed him as "a venal and licentious scribbler," "a yellow cur, egg-sucking dog," and a "trio of mangy bubonic rats." Nor were such outbursts artificially generated for public consumption only. When a newspaper published a pre-election photo of Crump and a governor with whom he had just broken, he "cut out the picture, drew bars across Browning's face, and filed it with his papers." All this may be of interest to Memphites and Tennesseans, and to psychiatrists. But along the way Miller also brings to light several points of more general interest to historians. His description of Crump's machine in the city of Memphis, for example, should help lay to rest the impression, particularly prevalent at times among southerners, that the growth of urban bossism owed something to the genes of European immigrants who populated northern cities. "It has often been said of peoples who succumb to dictatorship . . . that they were not of Anglo-Saxon blood and tradition," declared one of Crump's local critics, but obviously that was not true of Memphis. "Except for its Negro population, Memphis was predominantly Anglo-Saxon. . . ." Moreover, there is the author's over-all evaluation of Crump's reign. "Had there been no Crump there doubtless would have been more freedom for independent political action," he writes. "But would the people of Memphis have been as free in those areas that represent the basis for any humanized society—order and material well-being? Considering the character of Memphis as Crump found it, it is doubtful that they would have been," he concludes. Certainly there is food for thought, and for debate, in that observation. In its handling of the details and the broader significance of Crump's career, Miller's prose is frequently stilted, and sometimes obtuse. Yet, in giving us one of the first descriptions of a southern city machine he supplies material that, upon reflection, should prove interesting to the historian of twentieth-century American urbanism and bossism.

Georgetown University

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

THE HYPHENATE IN RECENT AMERICAN POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY. By Louis L. Gerson. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1964. Pp. xxvii, 325. \$6.00.) The author of *Woodrow Wilson and the Rebirth of Poland* has in this volume continued his study of the influence of the ethnic factor on American foreign policy. The historical meat of the book is in Part II, "The World Wars and the Hyphenate," and Part III, "The Cold War and the Hyphenate Consensus." For the period of the First World War, Gerson describes the various ethnic pressures and responses of the Wilson administration with respect to neutrality, self-determination, and the League. This section, largely based on the secondary literature including Gerson's earlier work, adds little new to the subject. Gerson then moves to a consideration of ethnic politics on the eve of World War II, since, he asserts, "hyphenism" was dormant from 1920 until the mid-thirties! From the Roosevelt papers, Gerson has gleaned much interesting material on the reaction of nationality groups to foreign policy decisions and the activities of the Democratic party among these groups. The propaganda campaigns waged by Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union among hyphenate Americans are also described. Because he accepts uncritically the claims made by foreign agents, however, Gerson tends to exaggerate their effectiveness. The chapter on World War II is too brief to contribute much on ethnic politics during the conflict. The era of the cold war receives more detailed attention. The Truman papers provide considerable evidence concerning the strenuous contest for the ethnic vote conducted by the Democratic party in 1948. Drawing primarily on the Arthur Bliss Lane papers, Gerson next traces the genesis, exploitation, and ultimate abandonment of the Republican policy of liberation. In my opinion these are the best chapters of the book. Gerson makes only a passing reference to "McCarthyism," certainly a major phenomenon of ethnic politics. These substantive chapters are sandwiched between lengthy introductory and concluding sections that have little historical value. Gerson has not written a comprehensive treatment of this subject, but an episodic and fragmentary one. Although the book purports to be a study of ethnic political behavior, it is for the most part an unevaluated series of assertions about that behavior. The author himself has not attempted to analyze election returns, roll call votes, or the ethnic composition of convention and congressional delegations. Because of this lack of fundamental analysis of the political process, the book deals less with the realities of political behavior than with the verbalisms of political rhetoric. Gerson's constant moralizing over the evils of "hyphenism" also gives the volume the archaic flavor of an Americanization tract. He raises many interesting questions about the political behavior of hyphenate Americans; he provides few of the answers.

Rutgers University RUDOLPH J. VECOLI

THE TALKATIVE PRESIDENT: THE OFF-THE-RECORD PRESS CONFERENCES OF CALVIN COOLIDGE. Edited by Robert H. Ferrell and Howard H. Quint. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 276. \$6.00.) The editors have interwoven one-sixth of the verbatim transcripts of President Coolidge's press conferences from 1923 to 1929 into a combined topical and chronological organization. It was a job worth doing, and they deserve special commendation for claiming no more on its behalf. Neither major visions nor revisions are advanced to stir historians of the twenties to debate. Quite a few corners, however, have been illuminated. Perhaps the most important contribution of these transcripts is the emergence of the central figure as a flesh-and-blood personality, relaxing among the approximately dozen newsmen. His comments will not be surprising. What the country needed from their new President in 1923 was "stability and confidence and reassurance"; tax reduction could "only be brought about as a result of economy"; no candidate for President "ever injured himself very much by not talking"; and whether the rediscount rate should be raised in 1928 "was a matter entirely for the Federal Reserve Board."

Throughout is an anthropocentric philosophy. Despite his fondness for the Vermont farm and the Dakota Black Hills, the President saw nothing but man's comfort there; despite allusions to church, metaphysical speculation is absent. The welfare of this man-centered world was dependent almost entirely upon economic and political factors. These areas were best promoted by public frugality and private business under Republican leadership. There is no abstract speculation of things intellectual, and the aesthetic is confined to a reference to Whittier's *Snow-Bound*. If the newsmen and public regretted the lack of such interests in their chief executive, there is no evidence in this book.

University of South Dakota

CEDRIC CUMMINS

FATHER COUGHLIN AND THE NEW DEAL. By *Charles J. Tull*. [Men and Movements.] ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 292. \$6.50.) In this book Professor Tull sets out "to probe thoroughly" the public career of Charles E. Coughlin, the controversial radio priest of the New Deal period. Tull's work leads him to conclude that Coughlin's condemnation of international bankers and his advocacy of inflation and government control of money were sincere. He suggests that the relations between the clerical politician and Franklin D. Roosevelt from 1932 to 1934 were closer than have been previously indicated. He insists that the priest's hold over his millions of listeners was complete, at least at the moment he spoke to them, and that his political appendage, the National Union for Social Justice, was an important political force. He argues that Coughlin's extreme efforts against Roosevelt in 1936 boomeranged, consequently leading moderates to support the President for re-election. He denies that the clergyman was a Fascist, indicating instead that Coughlin was a sincere, though confused social justice advocate, nationalist, Anglophobe, anti-Semite, and anti-Communist, who gradually became skeptical of democracy! Tull has given insufficient logic and data to support these contentions. Although the author could not gain the cooperation of Coughlin and the archdiocese of Detroit in securing material, one wonders why he failed to consult, for example, official election data, materials in the National Archives, and recent biographies of Representative William Lemke and Monsignor John A. Ryan, who were, respectively, an ally and an antagonist of Coughlin. This is not to say that Tull's book lacks merit. It demonstrates Coughlin's many ambiguities, follies, and inconsistencies, and makes clear that he did not represent the Catholic Church in his actions. It brings into doubt Samuel Lubell's thesis that foreign policy instead of economics is the key to understanding the vote for Lemke for President in 1936. And in it, for the first time, the basic facts of the priest's political career are set forth. In short, this volume fails "to probe thoroughly" Coughlin's career, but it does provide a convenient source of information and raises some questions that future researchers should consider.

University of Kansas

DONALD R. MCCOY

THE WAGNER ACT CASES. By *Richard C. Cortner*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1964. Pp. vii, 208. \$6.00.) This fascinating volume presents in some detail the legislative history of the National Labor Relations Act. The early chapters afford a brief but most readable digest of the judicial gauntlet that labor legislation ran in the post-Civil War era, culminating in attacks on the NRA and on state minimum-wage legislation. Its chief focus is, however, upon the strategy of the National Labor Relations Board and opposing interest groups in bringing to the US Supreme Court the pivotal cases which, on April 12, 1937, were to mark the beginning of a new era in American jurisprudence. The history of labor legislation has been competently covered in a variety of other sources. What is new in this volume is the meticulous tracing of the development of the cases that, grouped together, formed the subject matter of the 1937 court decision. One gains a new respect for the strategy and tactics of J. Warren

Madden and his colleagues of the NLRB in their preparation and handling of the Fruehauf case, the Jones and Laughlin case, the Friedman-Harry Marks case, the Associated Press case, and the Washington, Virginia and Maryland Coach Company case. In the light of court precedents, their problem was essentially one of delaying appeals in the cases of manufacturing companies so that these could reach the Supreme Court accompanied by strong cases more clearly involving interstate commerce. Complicating the difficult situation faced by the board was President Roosevelt's attempt to enlarge the Court, which was launched four days before oral arguments began on the Wagner Act cases. Finally, in the author's opinion, the Court undermined the case for the President's bill by its decisions in the controverted cases. This volume should prove exceedingly useful to students of labor history because of its careful treatment of the most dramatic period in which the commerce clause was in process of reinterpretation.

Amherst College

COLSTON E. WARNE

BUYING AIRCRAFT: MATÉRIEL PROCUREMENT FOR THE ARMY AIR FORCES. By *Irving Brinton Holley, jr.* [U. S. Army in World War II: Special Studies.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1964. Pp. xviii, 643. \$4.75.) In a period of fifteen years of work on this air logistical history, Professor Holley estimates that he has researched documents that, if piled atop each other, would stand more than two miles high. The result of these labors is a definitive history of the problems, failures, and successes of aircraft procurement for the United States Air Corps and Army Air Forces from the early 1920's through World War II. This history should be of interest not only to military students but also to readers with an interest in business history, for the book contains an excellent treatment of the aviation industry that provided the basis for military procurement. It stresses the interrelationship of political, economic, legal, and military problems, and it reveals the importance of organization within government and industry. The history brings together a composite set of statistics regarding wartime procurement for the Army Air Forces. Without detracting from the over-all conclusion that Holley has provided an excellent history of his subject of interest, it is, nevertheless, in order to regret that he includes only one short five-page chapter of concluding observations on military procurement. Here he finds "that there are no simple formulas, no neatly packaged principles to be memorized in axiomatic form." In the USAF Institute of Technology after World War II, students and faculty sought to distill an air logistical doctrine from the wartime experience. An analysis of such efforts to draw air logistical lessons from World War II would have provided an interesting conclusion to Holley's admirable volume.

Air University

ROBERT F. FUTRELL

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR, 1941-1945. By *Gaddis Smith.* [America in Crisis.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1965. Pp. ix, 194. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.) Professor Smith's volume constitutes a critique of American diplomacy, across the board, during the war years. The author does not claim to have had access to new sources although he has read widely in the general literature of the subject and is familiar with the published documentation. His purpose is to offer nonspecialists a brief critical evaluation of American wartime diplomacy in all its significant manifestations and to suggest the preconceptions, objectives, frustrations, and achievements that characterize it. Smith comes remarkably close to his goal. His criticisms are always trenchant, sometimes caustic, but usually, in my opinion, well founded, particularly as they deal with the role of President Roosevelt. If the specialist in this area of diplomatic history occasionally feels that the author is inclined to delineate his judgments in blacks and whites rather than in more circumspect shades of gray, he

will do well to remind himself of the breadth of the author's landscape and the small size of his canvas. Smith is not so brash, moreover, as to fail to remind his readers that "one of the most somber aspects of the study of history is that it suggests no obvious ways by which mankind could have avoided folly." He is not even prepared to affirm that the postwar world would have been happier and more secure if Roosevelt had behaved differently. He regards this as no more than a possibility. The volume breaks no significantly new ground for students of American wartime diplomacy. It does, nevertheless, offer new insight, the more clearly revealed by the wide areas of diplomatic activity condensed into narrow space. The style is always lively, not infrequently breezy. The author has organized his material very effectively and has expressed himself with an admirable economy of language. This is a highly readable and very useful contribution to the understanding of America's wartime diplomacy.

Department of State

S. EVERETT GLEASON

THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED NATIONS. WITH PUBLIC ADDRESSES BY GEORGE H. BALL, WILLIAM Y. ELLIOTT, HENRY M. JACKSON, JOHN F. KENNEDY, DEAN RUSK. By *Waldo Chamberlin et al.* Edited by *Franz B. Gross*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1964. Pp. x, 356. \$6.95.) When the *New York Times* recently editorialized that the United Nations was too unwieldy and uncertain to act as a trustee for a second Central American canal, it was expressing a view that the authors of this book believe too often absent in America. Their thesis is that Americans have not been sufficiently realistic about the world organization born at Dumbarton Oaks over twenty years ago. Had this country not deluded itself that the United Nations was an impartial peace enforcement agency with power of its own and a family of nations whose members would place "family" interests before their own, the United States might have enlisted much more effectively the United Nations as an instrument of American foreign policy. The authors endorse national self-interest as the proper lodestar of United States action in the United Nations and warn that the Russians have used the organization from its inception to defame and divide the West, cultivate Afro-Asia, and advance the cause of Sovietism in every way possible. Having drawn these cold conclusions, the authors do not, however, write off the UN, though they differ in their estimates of its usefulness. Robert Strausz-Hupé views it as a valuable diplomatic corridor and means for exposing Soviet motives. Frank Gross, Hans Kohn, William Kintner, and Harold Jacobson recommend that the US counter the Soviet battle in the United Nations for the minds of men with principled stands on national self-determination, human rights, and international cooperation—with no truckling to non-aligned governments that apply one standard to their own and Communist actions and another to the Western nations, and with primary concern for the survival of the free world. All urge Americans to recognize the UN as presently constituted not as an end in itself or a substitute for US policy, but as one of several instruments of the latter. Composed of eight historians and political scientists, the authorship is at its best in the analyses of arms control negotiations, Afro-Asian politics, economic and social activities, and settlement of international disputes in the United Nations. A less felicitous selection of the other chapter topics imparts some unevenness, while the symposium hazard of repetition also is not altogether avoided. At the time of publication the mounting crisis over UN finances apparently had not yet reached dimensions warranting inclusion; for reasons less clear, the issue of China's representation is touched only obliquely. This work is distinguished from its predecessors on the subject by its recency, imposing historical data, and lucid conclusions. Scholarly, documented (though one misses a bibliography), and comprehensive, it is nonetheless for the general, albeit informed, reader as well as for the specialist.

Pennsylvania State University

KENT FORSTER

PARTY AND POLICY-MAKING: THE HOUSE REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE. By *Charles O. Jones*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 174. \$6.50.) This study of the Republican Policy Committee, a party organ in the House of Representatives, describes the origin, development, organization, and functions of the committee that was formed in 1949 after the Republican disaster at the polls in 1948, but did not become fully active until 1959. It seeks to show how the committee operates as an agency of party communication in the House and how it has been used in the internal power struggles of the House Republican party. Creation of party policy committees in both houses was recommended by the La Follette-Monroney Committee in 1946 to plan and coordinate legislative programs. The Senate did so, but not the House. In 1949 Republican Leader Joe Martin agreed to a House Republican Policy Committee, but it remained ineffective until the party battles of 1959 and 1963 when, under pressure from junior members, it emerged as a more active unit. In practice, the chief function of the committee has been to discover a basis for consensus on policy. Professor Jones measures its success in this effort during 1961 and 1962. He finds that the policy committee has performed a valuable function in educating its members, that more juniors are now voting members of the committee, and that more of the House standing committees are represented on it. The major conclusions of this competent and intensive study are that the committee has been increasingly important in internal struggles for power in the House Republican party and that the committee has provided a center of communication in which the House Republican party can discover a basis of consensus (or the lack of it) on policy problems. Jones suggests three possible improvements: increased emphasis on efforts by the committee to develop consensus through the Subcommittee on Special Projects and Policy Committee recommendations to Republican members of standing committees; greater cooperation between the policy committees of the House and Senate; a change in the basis of representation from a geographical or regional to a standing committee base. An improved policy committee "can be of considerable value in aiding the legislative party to win roll call votes, the individual congressman to win elections, and Congress to solve public problems."

Library of Congress

GEORGE B. GALLOWAY

THE SOUTHERN MYSTIQUE. By *Howard Zinn*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1964. Pp. 267. \$4.95.) Professor Zinn modestly describes his work as "primarily a speculative essay based on personal experience." He taught for seven years at Spelman College, in a Negro university community that provided a microcosm for the study of momentous regional changes since 1958; in that setting he became vitally interested in the student protest movement, as "an observer, a friend, and an occasional participant." *The Southern Mystique* demonstrates his broad interest in the history of race relations in the United States, in that complex of intangibles Wilbur J. Cash called "the mind of the South," and in the nature of and the prospect for social change in the region. The book is not so much an analysis of the southern *mystique* ("the mysterious and terrible South") as it is a perceptive commentary on the dissolution of the *mystique*. In the first part of the book the author makes use of post-Freudian social psychology, as well as his own experiences and observations and some recent historical studies, to distinguish between idea and action, and to argue that changes in behavior come before changes in belief. He also discusses the role of leadership, the heterogeneity of the white southern community, the hierarchy of values in that community (in which traditional attitudes frequently give way before more compelling preferences), the power of the immediate situation in determining how people act, and the theorist as an active part of the social field. He examines the *mystique* compounded of racism and romanticism that has developed around the Negro and explores the effect of interracial contact in

dissipating it. In another section he presents an absorbing and instructive case study of the mass demonstrations in Albany, Georgia, in 1961 and 1962. The last section, entitled "The South as a Mirror," is a suggestive essay on national character. Here Zinn contends that, far from being utterly different from the rest of the country, the South is really the essence of the nation; for it contains, "in concentrated and dangerous form, a set of characteristics which mark the country as a whole." He identifies some of those characteristics—racism, violence, religious fundamentalism, nativism, hypocrisy in the elevation of women, suppression of class grievances, militant nationalism, conservatism, and poverty—and gives them a national setting by reference to historical experience. Zinn's rather hopeful appraisal does not rest on any exaggerated notion of progress in dealing with race relations and other social problems, but rather on the possibilities he sees in planned and concerted action, particularly under the leadership of the federal government. The volume is a significant contribution to the literature on the second Reconstruction now under way in the South. A brief bibliographical note is appended to the text, but there is no index.

Vanderbilt University

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR.

EARLY UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENTS IN CANADA, 1895-1900: DR. JOSEF OLESKOW'S ROLE IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CANADIAN NORTHWEST. By *Vladimir J. Kaye*. Foreword by *George W. Simpson*. [The Canadian Centennial Series.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation. 1964. Pp. xxvi, 420. \$10.00.) The importance of Ukrainian settlement in the development of the Canadian West ensures a welcome for this collection of source materials bearing on its earliest period. Many of these appear here in print for the first time; others are not easily accessible. The author, himself the heir of a strong Ukrainian intellectual tradition, has provided a connecting narrative. About a third of the book is used for an examination of the contribution of Josef Oleskow to the diversion to western Canada of the tide of Ukrainian immigration that might otherwise have flowed toward Siberia or Brazil. The correspondence between Oleskow and the various Canadian authorities involved in the process of settling an almost empty West is extremely interesting, but some readers may not regard it as a sufficient basis for accepting his role as preponderant in the initiation and propagation of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. It nevertheless serves to bring out of oblivion a figure of considerable importance, though one might wish that Dr. Kaye had found space to consider, for example, the anti-Semitism that Oleskow's letters display. His English was at best uncertain; it would have been helpful if the author had used his exceptional knowledge at least to paraphrase some passages that, as they stand, are extremely puzzling. Most of the remainder of the book deals with the earliest Ukrainian colonies in the prairie provinces. Included here are lists of early settlers, with details of their locations, families, and possessions, lists that might have been relegated to an appendix. Many of the letters presented here and elsewhere seem to have been inaccurately transcribed, unless the spelling of the Canadian civil servant is shakier than might reasonably be expected.

University of Alberta

L. G. THOMAS

RELIGION, REVOLUTION, AND REFORM: NEW FORCES FOR CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA. Edited by *William V. D'Antonio* and *Frederick B. Pike*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1964. Pp. x, 276. \$5.95.) Papers presented at a conference on "Religion and Social Change in Latin America" at the University of Notre Dame in April 1963 comprise the present volume. Contributors to this timely and perceptive collection on the role of the Catholic Church vis-à-vis the revolution of rising expectations in Latin America include: Eduardo Frei Montalva, President-elect of Chile and leader of the Chilean Christian Democratic party; Mark G. McGrath, auxiliary bishop of

Panama; Emilio Máspero, executive secretary of the Latin American Confederation of Christian Trade Unionists; Roger E. Vekemans, director of the School of Sociology of the Catholic University of Chile; Simon G. Hanson, editor of *Inter-American Economic Affairs*; and Professors Arthur P. Whitaker, Robert E. Quirk, Emilio Williams, Robert J. Alexander, and William P. Glade of Pennsylvania, Indiana, Vanderbilt, Rutgers, and Wisconsin, respectively. Excellent introductory and concluding sections to the volume were contributed by the coeditors Frederick B. Pike and William V. D'Antonio, professors, respectively, of history and sociology at Notre Dame. In view of the high probability that the existing social and economic order of privilege, property, and caste in Latin America, with which the Catholic Church has been identified since colonial times, is due for revolutionary change, the problem facing the Church is how it can escape destruction when the *status quo* disappears. The response urged by prominent lay and ecclesiastical leaders in most of Latin America is itself "revolutionary" for they would line up the Church on the side of those who proclaim that the *status quo* can no longer be accepted. It was the consensus of the Notre Dame conference that the Church must undergo basic changes in its orientation to the new temporal order. Already many Latin American countries have inaugurated heroic endeavors to associate the Church with the forces of social progress. The conferees were frank to admit, however, that there are factors likely to detract from the effectiveness of Church efforts to shape the patterns of social change, probably the most important being the inextinguishable image of the Church as traditional opponent of social change. In addition the Church is burdened by proscriptions against political activity. Almost all Latin American countries have legislated against a return of clerical power. Finally, the Church is weak materially, in clerical personnel, and in active communicants (only 10-15 per cent of the total population). The tone of the contributions is not necessarily pessimistic, but nevertheless there is frank acknowledgment that Roman Catholicism in Latin America is faced by one of the great crises in its history; this volume presents the problems in remarkably realistic and objective fashion.

University of Texas

J. LLOYD MECHAM

ITINERARIO DE LA ORDEN DOMINICANA EN LA CONQUISTA DEL PERÚ, CHILE Y EL TUCUMÁN Y SU CONVENTO DEL ANTIGUO BUENOS AIRES, 1216-1807. By *Andrés Millé*. (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores. 1964. Pp. 493.) The author has written two previous books on the Mercedarians and Franciscans in their process of establishment in Peru, Chile, and particularly in the area of Río de la Plata, and is presently engaged in compiling a similar account of the Jesuits. His earlier writings on old churches in Buenos Aires, an outgrowth of his engineering and construction work on colonial buildings there, aroused his deep personal interest in the men who pioneered in that land in the teaching of Christianity to the Indian population. Millé's professed purpose is to conserve the story of the heroic past of Buenos Aires in which he takes an evident personal pride. This account of the Dominicans follows a strictly chronological sequence from their early arrival in the Caribbean settlements, their establishment in Peru, Chile, and the Río de la Plata to the English invasion of Buenos Aires in 1806-1807. Although the author is not a professional historian, he has searched out industriously both manuscript and printed sources for this work. In fact, more than one hundred pages of the book are devoted to an appendix in which twenty-eight of these documents are printed for the reader to check; several are highly informative. In addition, an adequate index is provided. The story of the Dominicans is, however, treated too often as an isolated factor. Their vicissitudes, achievements, and disappointments are recorded but not analyzed or measured against the milieu in which they occurred. One would like to know the procedures used by the Dominicans with the Indians; how they surmounted the obstacles to the foundation of the university in Lima;

the lingering social effects of the epidemics of the first quarter of the seventeenth century in Buenos Aires (although Document XXIII gives a clue in the firsthand account from Juan Baes, the prior of Santo Domingo). The book cries out for specialized studies by the scholar in this field. Millé has pointed out the field; the Latin Americanist should cultivate it.

Immaculata College, Pennsylvania

SISTER MARY CONSUELA, I.H.M.

VENEZUELA & COLOMBIA. By *Harry Bernstein*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1964. Pp. viii, 152. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.) In this volume Professor Bernstein gives us two small books within one cover, not as one might expect from the title, an integrated history of the two nations. Yet the reader, examining the two parallel historical sketches, will certainly observe that the two countries have shared many similar, if not common, historical experiences. He will also see significant differences that are suggestive of the range of difference encountered in the histories of the various nations of Latin America. In this respect, the author has prepared a very good teaching book. A carefully selected list of "Suggested Readings," confined almost entirely to English-language titles, enhances its pedagogical usefulness. The first six chapters treat Venezuela, and another six cover Colombia. Although the outline is the same for both sections, the fact that each is provided with a separate index makes possible some interesting comparisons of the two countries from the standpoint of their similarities and differences. Each section begins with a brief chapter on the present sociopolitical situation. A second chapter sketches colonial backgrounds. Chapter III treats independence, Chapter IV the developments of the nineteenth century, Chapter V the first three decades of the twentieth century. Chapter VI, "These Thirty Years, 1934-1964," brings the reader up to the point where Chapter I began. Thus, the emphasis is clearly on "contemporary" history, and what Bernstein gives us is not so much history as a view of the problems of these two nations in historical perspective. As this is the purpose of the series in which the volume appears, in my judgment the author has served that purpose well.

American University

HAROLD EUGENE DAVIS

LA LUCHA POR LA CONSOLIDACIÓN DE LA NACIONALIDAD ARGENTINA, 1852-1862. By *James R. Scobie*. [Collection "El Pasado Argentino."] (Buenos Aires: Librería Hachette. 1964. Pp. 425.) This is the third study of Argentine history that Professor James R. Scobie of Indiana University has published in less than one year. Like the others, this is an authoritative account, deriving its authority from the author's thorough research, sound organization, and objective analysis. The last quality is especially praiseworthy because Scobie's subject, "the struggle for the consolidation of Argentine nationality," was one of the most complex, significant, and partisan rivalries in the political life of Latin America in the nineteenth century. At stake was the leadership of a region moving from neocolonial isolation to modernization—the first major area of Latin America to undertake the transition to development. And reverberations of the contest shake Argentina today; or, rather, the contest is carried on in different forms, between the poor interior provinces and the wealthier littoral region, with its mighty capital, Buenos Aires. The struggle of a century ago was that between the city-province of Buenos Aires and the Argentine Confederation (the remaining provinces) organized under the leader of Entre Ríos Province, Justo José de Urquiza, following his defeat of the dictator, Juan Manuel de Rosas, in 1852. As Scobie demonstrates, four principal issues continued to separate relatively powerful Buenos Aires from the other provinces of the hitherto weakly organized nation: the choice of location for a permanent capital, which region should dominate the new political structure, control of foreign relations, and economic hegemony in any future state. Even before

the present constitution of Argentina was drafted in 1853 under Urquiza's guidance, the province of Buenos Aires had separated itself from the confederation. During the ensuing critical decade, a condition of civil strife existed between the opposed political forces, sometimes in the form of hot war, but usually as a cold conflict, waged by ideological appeals, economic sanctions, and the introduction of foreign influence in attempts to resolve the power stalemate. At the end of the decade, the larger economic resources, the key geographical position, greater unity, and, perhaps, superior leadership of Buenos Aires defeated the confederation. When Bartolomé Mitre of Buenos Aires was elected President of the Argentine Republic in 1862, the domination of the port city and its fertile hinterland was established. The foundation of the Argentine nation had been poured. Scobie's book is a political history, although he gives full weight to the part played by economic forces in shaping political decisions. It is a work for the specialist, who will not find in it any revision of accepted interpretation but who will have the satisfaction of reading a detailed, balanced history, one that is definitive in terms of the exploitation of documents. *La lucha* has been carefully translated from the author's unpublished English-language manuscript; the book is attractively printed and has a good bibliography and a useful index.

University of Texas

THOMAS F. MCGANN

ARGENTINA. By *Arthur P. Whitaker*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1964. Pp. viii, 184. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.) This volume lends itself to comparison with two other recently published works: George Pendle's *Argentina* (rev. ed., 1962) and James Scobie's *Argentina: A City and a Nation* (1964). Each of these books uses a different approach to the interpretation of Argentina. Pendle has provided a sound but conventional historical survey, well buttressed with factual information and statistical data. Scobie, on the other hand, launches himself on a more complex and ambitious synthesis in which cultural as well as economic and political factors are combined. He gives major attention to developments of the nineteenth century. Whitaker, in a volume of about the same length as those of his colleagues, has chosen to present a political narrative (with the necessary economic underpinning) which gives major emphasis to the twentieth century. Nationalism and Juan Domingo Perón provide the central themes. The failure of the *Unión Cívica Radical* by 1930 and the inadequacy of the "Concordancia" which dominated the politics of the ensuing decade prepared the way for Perón, whose character, policies, and administration Whitaker reviews with cool detachment. Contemporary Argentina, since the fall of the dictator in 1955, is still struggling with Perón's legacy. The author is well qualified to write this brief survey. His previous works on Argentina include a book on *The United States and Argentina* (1954) and a detailed study of Perón's downfall (*Argentine Upheaval* [1956]). In recent years he has directed research on modern Argentina at the University of Pennsylvania, out of which a number of useful monographs have appeared. Whitaker tends to explain the phenomenon of Argentine nationalism, whether of the Right Wing or of the Peronist, populist variety, as an outgrowth of the republic's own experience. He minimizes the influence of European ideas and examples and stresses the domestic roots of Argentine aversion to and disillusionment with traditional liberal concepts of government. Further study of the ideological crosscurrents in Argentina during the 1930's, at which time a number of Right-wing propagandists and splinter fascist groups appeared on the scene, might lead to a greater weighting of foreign influence than Whitaker is inclined to accept. Admittedly, however, he is not alone in his position on this subject. The text is supplemented by a short, selective, annotated, critical bibliography and an index, but there are no footnotes to support specific statements in the text. Until a full-length study of modern Argentina appears, Whitaker's volume will be very useful. Owing to its brevity, how-

ever, it does not supersede other works on modern Argentina, among them the author's own previous publications.

Vassar College

CHARLES GRIFFIN

EPISTOLARIO Y TEXTOS DE RICARDO FLORES MAGÓN. Foreword, organization, and notes by *Manuel González Ramírez*. [Vida y pensamiento de México.] (México, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1964. Pp. 260.) Ricardo Flores Magón, precursory Mexican revolutionary leader, has excited interest on both sides of the frontier. North Americans have focused on the liberal movement's contacts with radical elements in the United States as well as on the *magonista* connection with the 1911 invasion of Lower California. Mexicans have tended to emphasize the role of the Flores Magón movement as a bridge between nineteenth-century liberalism and the twentieth-century revolution as well as the *magonista* contribution to the ideological content of the latter. Scholars in both countries have been aware that the activities of Flores Magón and his followers contributed to the creation of an environment propitious for successful revolution. In this volume, Manuel González Ramírez makes a significant contribution to an understanding of Flores Magón and his movement, piecing together a topical account based on the correspondence of Flores Magón and his followers, newspaper articles, and the documents related to the movement housed in the archive of the Secretary of Foreign Relations. Excepting a handful of letters written in 1921-1922 in which Flores Magón reviewed his historical experiences and reaffirmed his libertarian and anarchistic ideals, the volume is based on materials from the initial decade of the century. González Ramírez emphasizes the original liberal ideology of the movement, its campaign against the Díaz dictatorship, the government's campaign of persecution against the *magonistas* aided by forces in the United States, and the evolution of Flores Magón's ideology from liberalism and nationalism to anarchism. While much of the correspondence was published in three volumes during the 1920's under the title *Epistolario revolucionario e íntimo* as part of the series "Ricardo Flores Magón: Life and Work," these paperbacks are difficult to find. González Ramírez has integrated the correspondence with the material from other sources and most particularly with the Mexican Foreign Relations file dealing with Flores Magón and his movement. Once again the specialists on the Mexican Revolution are indebted to González Ramírez for his industry in making readily available, in a systematic fashion, the essential materials for further historical research.

State University of New York, Stony Brook

STANLEY ROBERT ROSS

BRITISH GUIANA: PROBLEMS OF COHESION IN AN IMMIGRANT SOCIETY. By *Peter Newman*. [Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, London.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. 104. \$1.55.) The purely historical portion of this meaty little volume is brief: one seventeen-page chapter. The author makes no pretense to thoroughness of such treatment and stresses economic and social rather than constitutional history; footnotes cite ampler historical treatments. But the other parts of this study of essentially contemporary "problems of cohesion in an immigrant society" are excellent. They include a description of the geography and natural resources of "B. G.," a penetrating analysis of demographic and social pressures and surveys of economic and political developments in the last dozen years. A succinct sentence summarizes much of the author's analysis: "sugar, rice and bauxite dominate the economy, and the methods of economic organisation used to produce the first two dominate the society as well." East Indians compose about half of that society, and deep tensions exist between them and the third of the population that is Negro. Professor Newman is also concerned with the erstwhile colony's relations with Great Britain. The well-publicized Mr. Jagan does not appear as prominently as one would have thought,

but he does receive objective treatment. Jagan and his Guianan opponents have all made mistakes, and the British government, the author feels, "is rather bored with British Guiana" and would perhaps like to leave it to American hegemony. The present situation is not stable, and leadership of a much higher quality is needed. The author's analysis and interpretation are mature, well balanced, and perceptive. Despite its short length, the study is a valuable contribution to the materials on British Guiana.

University of California, Santa Barbara

RUSSELL H. FITZGIBBON

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The American Historical Association will meet at the Hilton Hotel, San Francisco, California, December 28-30, 1965. Brainerd Dyer of the University of California, Los Angeles, is Chairman of the Program Committee, and Gerald T. White of San Francisco State College is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

The Association has received a three-year grant of \$125,000 from the Ford Foundation to promote the activities of the Conference on Latin American History. The conference plans to develop research tools and teaching materials to improve training and research in Latin American history.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received an important addition to the papers of Robert Porter Patterson (1891-1952), the gift of Mrs. Patterson. The approximately eighteen thousand manuscripts in the gift comprise legal files related to Patterson's service from 1930 to 1939 as judge of the US District Court of Southern New York and of the US Circuit Court of Appeals, but most of them are illustrative of his service as Assistant Secretary and Undersecretary of War in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration and as Secretary of War (1945-1947) under President Truman. There are minutes of the War Production Board, of which Patterson was a member, a series of notes indicating action taken in cabinet meetings in which the War Department was concerned, and an extensive correspondence covering the years 1909-1952. The papers may be used only by special permission, which should be sought through the Chief of the Manuscript Division.

Mr. Huntington Cairns, secretary and general counsel of the National Gallery of Art since 1943, has deposited his papers in the Library. His long and deep interest in art and the humanities is abundantly reflected in the papers. Among the seventeen thousand items there are more than two hundred letters of Henry Miller, written from Paris and elsewhere, a long correspondence with novelist Joseph Hergesheimer, and more than one hundred typed letters from poet Ezra Pound. Other correspondents represented in the papers are Sherwood Anderson, Roscoe Pound, Gutzon Borglum, Charles Beard, Lawrence Durrell, F. Scott Fitzgerald, James Truslow Adams, and George Jean Nathan. These papers are also available by special permission only. The papers of sculptor Oronzio Maldarelli (1892-1962) have been presented to the Library by Mrs. Samuel Martin, Mr. Abner Schreiber, and Miss Inez Bock. The greater part of the 2,100 papers consists of correspondence for the years 1931-1962, during which time Maldarelli was a teacher at Sarah Lawrence College and at Columbia University, as well as a practicing sculptor. A subject file includes correspondence, sketches, blueprints,

and photographs pertaining to all of the major projects upon which he was engaged. Some nine hundred papers of sculptor Solon H. Borglum, a brother of Gutzon Borglum, are a gift from Mrs. A. Mervyn Davies and Mr. Paul A. Borglum. This material consists of correspondence, articles and speeches, photographs, and an exhibition file dated from 1900 to 1915.

Approximately two thousand papers of Horace Capron, Commissioner of Agriculture from 1867 to 1871, have been received by the Library as a gift from Mr. Banfield Capron. Most of the manuscripts relate to his experiences as an agricultural adviser to the Japanese government during the years 1872-1875. They are especially revealing in presenting a picture of an early experiment in government planning in the field of agriculture. John P. Wiley has greatly enlarged the Library's resources for the study of the women's rights movement with a gift of about seventy thousand papers of Anna Campbell Kelton Wiley, early suffrage leader, chairman of the National Woman's party, editor of *Equal Rights*, and president of such organizations as the American Pure Food League, the Housekeepers' Alliance, and the Consumer's League of Washington. The papers include an extensive correspondence, scrapbooks, and notebooks.

The American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics has presented approximately thirty thousand of its records, consisting of correspondence, clippings, and printed material. Files on pioneers of aviation and a group of papers of Thaddeus S. C. Lowe, the "Chief Aeronaut of the Army of the Potomac" in the Civil War, are included in these records, which trace man's early efforts to fly and range from early ballooning attempts to rocketry.

The National Archives has received from the Department of Labor the files of Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, January 1961-September 1962, including correspondence, reports, texts of speeches, memorandums, and other documents relating to the operation and administration of the Department; and records of the Presidential Railroad Commission, January 1961-February 1962, including files of Chairman Simon H. Rifkind, Executive Director Philip Arnow, and Deputy Executive Director Sar A. Levitan, minutes of executive sessions, transcripts of public hearings, and the five-volume report of the commission. Among other recent accessions are records of the office of James Forrestal as Undersecretary and Secretary of the Navy, 1940-1947; part of the files of the former Office of Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology and its successor, the Office of Science and Technology, Executive Office of the President, 1960-1962; records including correspondence, memorandums, drafts of executive orders and proclamations relating to the coordination and clearance of legislation by the Bureau of the Budget's Office of Legislative Reference, Eighty-third to Eighty-sixth Congresses; and journals, ledgers, and other account books of the Water Resources Division of the Geological Survey, 1888-1890 and 1894-1912. Also recently acquired are Woodrow Wilson's application for admission to practice in the Circuit Court for the Northern District of Georgia, March 23, 1883; the deed of gift to the United States of the Mercury Monument at Cape Kennedy, Florida, November 10, 1964; and motion picture film taken by the US Air Force during the Korean conflict, 1951-1953.

Microfilm publications recently completed include Indexes to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the

States of Rhode Island (7 rolls), Vermont (14 rolls), and Wisconsin (33 rolls); Telegrams Collected by the Office of the Secretary of War (Unbound), 1860-1870 (449 rolls); Index to Telegrams Collected by the Office of the Secretary of War (Unbound), 1860-1870 (20 rolls); Letters Sent by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series), 1800-1890 (63 rolls); Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Chiefs of Navy Bureaus, 1842-1885 (33 rolls); Copies of Lists of Passengers Arriving at Miscellaneous Ports on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts and at Ports on the Great Lakes, 1820-1873 (16 rolls); and the 1850 Federal Population Census Schedules (1,009 rolls).

Ieoh Ming Pei of New York has been selected as architect for the John F. Kennedy Library; between four and five years will be required for its design and construction. The Carnegie Corporation of New York has granted \$260,000 to the National Archives Trust Fund Board to finance the continuation of the John F. Kennedy Library Oral History Project for the next four years. The purpose of the project, which was begun a few months after President Kennedy's death, is to interview persons associated with Kennedy and his administration who are able to furnish information that cannot be found in the documentation of the Kennedy period. The typed transcriptions of these interviews, and in some cases the original tapes, will be preserved at the library and made available subject to any conditions imposed by the persons interviewed. Chairman of an advisory committee for the project will be Franklin L. Ford of Harvard University; other committee members are Robert F. Kennedy, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Richard E. Neustadt, Oscar Handlin, William E. Leuchtenburg, and Frederick G. Dutton.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has received the papers of Sharon J. Mauhs of Cobleskill, New York, lawyer, assemblyman, and for many years one of the leaders of the New York Democratic party. Mr. Mauhs's papers are of value for the study of the conservation movement as well as the history of the Democratic party in rural New York. Additional papers have been received from Dr. Henry Field, adviser to President Roosevelt during World War II on the resettlement of refugees.

Recent accessions of the Harry S. Truman Library include papers of William L. Clayton, former Undersecretary of State; a microfilm copy of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch's* index to their Truman file; and photographic negatives used by the paper. Thirty-seven persons did research at the library in the last three months, and over nineteen thousand persons visited the Museum of the Presidency. A painting of President Kennedy by Elaine de Kooning of New York City has been acquired for the museum.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library has recently received correspondence of General and Mrs. Eisenhower and files of the Republican National Committee and Arthur F. Burns, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

A total of \$73,000 was allocated to the National Archives to support two projects sponsored directly by the National Historical Publications Commission and already in progress. The projects are the *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution and First Ten Amendments* and the *Documentary History of the First Federal Congress*. Other grants are pending.

The newly renovated San Francisco Federal Records Center was opened in March. The remodeled building includes research rooms and special storage areas

for historically and administratively valuable records. Similar facilities will be included in the centers planned for Boston and Washington, D. C., which will be completed in May 1966 and mid-1967, respectively. The holdings of the New Orleans Center have been merged with the records in the Fort Worth and Atlanta Centers, and the Federal Records Center Annex at Clearfield, Utah, has been liquidated by the transfer of its holdings to the Denver Center. The General Accounting Office Records Center at Cameron, Virginia, has been consolidated with the centers at Alexandria, Virginia, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, and St. Louis, Missouri. The Fort Worth Center has been designated as the central depository for records concerning Project Mercury of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. It has already acquired 350 cubic feet of NASA records, consisting chiefly of tape recordings and photographs of rocket flights. Plans have been completed for the transfer of the records of the Office of the Governor of the Alaskan Territory, 1953-1958, from Juneau to the Seattle Center. The US Provost Marshal General's Prisoner of War Files on Germans and other nationals who fought under the German flag during World War II are being transferred by the Philadelphia Center to West Germany.

The Columbia University Libraries have received Major General William "Wild Bill" Donovan's collection of materials dealing with his research into the development of an intelligence service during the American Revolution as a gift from Mrs. Ruth Rumsey Donovan.

Frank L. Howley has given a forty-nine-volume collection of historical papers and other materials on Germany and France in the early post-World War II period to the New York University Libraries. The libraries have also acquired one of the most extensive collections in the United States on Soviet affairs from 1917 to the present.

The Wayne State University Labor History Archives has acquired the papers of R. J. Thomas, former president of the United Automobile Workers and former assistant to George Meany. It has also received additions to the records of the UAW Education Department and the papers of Herman Benson relating to the history of Local 88 of the International Organization of Mates, Masters, and Pilots in the 1950's.

Many of the personal papers of the Reverend Rudolph H. C. Meyer and Dr. A. L. Graebner were a gift to the Concordia Historical Institute from Graebner's daughter.

The archives of the Lake Mohonk Conferences of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples have recently been added to the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The Ford Foundation has announced a five-year grant to the American Council of Learned Societies to expand a program to advance knowledge of American civilization throughout the world. The grant will enable university scholars from many areas to do research in the United States on such subjects as American government, history, and literature.

Historians receiving Social Science Research Council grants for 1965-1966 include: *Faculty Research Grants*—Allan G. Bogue, Woodrow Borah, Lloyd C. Gardner, Frederick G. Heymann, Lawrence W. Levine, David H. Pinkney, and Theodore K. Rabb. *Grants for Research on Governmental and Legal Processes*—Lee Benson.

The American Council of Learned Societies has awarded a postdoctoral fellowship to Robert C. Bannister, Jr., for study in a field outside his area of present specialization.

Joint committees of the ACLS and the SSRC have awarded the following grants for research for 1965-1966: *African Studies*—Jan Vansina. *Contemporary China*—Joseph Chen, Jerome B. Grieder, and James R. Shirley. *Latin American Studies*—Russell H. Bastert, Charles A. Hale, Ronald C. Newton, and Stanley J. Stein. *Near and Middle East*—Richard M. Brace, Robert G. Landen, Hisham Sharabi, and John Masson Smith, Jr.

Historians receiving Guggenheim fellowships for 1965 are: Paul J. Alexander, Dudley W. R. Bahlman, Robert Brentano, Robert J. C. Butow, Paul K. Conkin, Philip D. Curtin, Donald Fleming, John A. Garraty, Edward Grant, C. Warren Hollister, Ari Hoogenboom, Reginald Horsman, Harold C. Kirker, Stanford E. Lehmborg, Albert J. Loomie, S. J., Seymour J. Mandelbaum, Donald B. Meyer, Paul L. Murphy, Richard A. Pierce, Richard E. Pipes, Jacob M. Price, Robert E. Quirk, Joachim Remak, Martin Ridge, Alfred J. Rieber, Charles E. Rosenberg, John L. Thomas, and Henry A. Turner, Jr.

The Rockefeller Foundation has awarded grants to Bernard Bailyn (Harvard University), Stephen Kertesz (University of Notre Dame), Samuel J. Konefsky (Brooklyn College), C. M. Williams (University of New England, Armidale, Australia), and Louis L. Snyder.

Foreign scholars receiving Rockefeller Foundation awards include: James Sylvester Cummins, Elena Hernandez-Casas, Mutumba Mainga, William Bloke Modisane, and M. D. D. Newitt.

The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery has announced the appointment of Richard W. Van Alstyne as a fellow for the year beginning July 1, 1965. Among those awarded grants-in-aid are: Daniel Aaron, W. E. Brock, Richard S. Dunn, V. H. Galbraith, Paul W. Gates, LeRoy and Ann Hafen, John A. Hawgood, James T. King, Fred J. Levy, E. B. Long, Colin Rhys Lovell, and Gerald T. White.

The John Carter Brown Library has named two graduate fellows for 1965-1966: Christopher M. Rowe and Charles F. Carroll; three postdoctoral fellows also named are: John B. Harley, C. William Miller, and Fintan B. Warren.

The Harry S. Truman Library Institute has awarded grants-in-aid to Nancy C. Dixon, Lawrence Kelly, John W. Ramsey, M. S. Venkataramani, and Monte M. Poen for projects involving the Truman administrations and the history and nature of the presidency of the United States.

Among seventy public senior high school teachers receiving John Hay fellowships in the humanities for the coming year were twenty-three history teachers: Mildred E. Akins, William L. Allison, Kenneth E. Beall, Jr., Rose Boghasen, Robert D. Breen, James H. Clay, Robert F. Derosier, LaRue M. Evans, Allen A. Frankel, David J. Gonnerman, Edward B. Hauser, C. Ralph Hayes, Joseph W. Jacques, Joseph A. Jennings, Simms McClintock, Edward C. Martin, McLean Mitchell, Floyd H. Pearson, John C. Rosemond, Jr., Albert W. Schnupp, Edmund Traverso, Thomas Wilson, and Mildred Winderl.

George D. Wolf has received a faculty fellowship from the National Center for Education in Politics to work with Governor William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania for the academic year 1965-1966.

The Committee on Research and Productive Scholarship of the University of South Carolina has presented a grant to Robert B. Patterson to do research in the United Kingdom.

The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation has chosen 1,395 fellows to undertake graduate study for 1965-1966.

Dexter Perkins received a Presidential Citation from the University of Rochester for his fifty years of service to that institution.

The Modern European History Section of the American Historical Association awarded the Higby Prize for 1963-1964 to Trevor Wilson for his "The Coupon and the British Election of 1918" (*Journal of Modern History*, XXXVI [Mar. 1964]). Henry Winkler received honorable mention for his "Sir Lewis Namier," which appeared in the same magazine (XXXV [Mar. 1963]).

Ivor Noël Hume has received the American Association for State and Local History's Award of Merit for his *Here Lies Virginia: An Archaeologist's View of Colonial Life and History*. The same book also won the Medallion and Citation of Honor of the Society of Colonial Wars.

Ivan Morris won the Duff Cooper Memorial Award Literary Prize for 1964 for his book, *The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan*.

David L. Cowen has received the American Institute of the History of Pharmacy's Edward Kremers Award for 1965 for "distinguished historical writing," notably his *America's Pre-pharmacopoeial Literature* (1961).

PUBLICATIONS

Scholars whose work takes them to the Public Record Office will find much that is of interest in the *Sixth Annual Report of the Keeper of the Public Records on the Work of the Public Record Office . . . 1964*, issued recently in London. Sections 21-25 in particular include a critical reappraisal of the editorial and publications program of the PRO designed to stimulate discussion before a further stage of the program is decided.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

At the December 1964 meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington, D. C., historians with a special interest in Brazil gathered at the Brazil-United States Cultural Institute for an informal discussion of the problems involved in teaching Brazilian history in the United States. Under the chairmanship of Professor Lewis Hanke, some thirty historians decided to meet annually in informal session and to issue a periodical newsletter. The next meeting of this group is scheduled to be held at the 1965 AHA meeting in San Francisco. Historians with an active interest in Brazil who were not present at the first meeting and who would like to affiliate with this group and to receive the minutes of the Washington meeting as well as the newsletter should communicate with the executive secretary, E. Bradford Burns, Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles 90024.

A Center of Southwest Studies has been established at Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado, under the direction of Robert Delaney. The center is devoted to collecting and preserving records of all aspects of the history of the southwestern United States.

The memoirs and speeches of Winston Churchill have been recorded in twelve long-playing records. These recordings and information regarding them are available through London Records, Department MH, 539 West 25th Street, New York City.

RECENT DEATHS

Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr., died February 23, 1965, at the age of sixty-four. An authority on Alexander the Great and a member of the Brown University faculty, Robinson wrote several books, including: *The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition, Athens in the Age of Pericles*, and *Alexander, Conqueror and Creator of a New World*.

John F. Freeman of Kansas State University died March 22, at the age of thirty-five.

Wayne G. Permenter of the Mississippi State College for Women and Walter F. Willcox of Ithaca, New York, died recently.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In your July issue of 1964, which has only now come to my knowledge, Professor Pierson published an essay in which there is a footnote that reads as follows:

²¹ Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America*, 118-19. The original text has now been established and printed, with variations and some slight differences of sentence order and paragraphing, by J.-P. Mayer [and A. Jardin] in Alexis de Tocqueville, *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1957), V, *Voyages en Sicile et aux États-Unis*, 208-209. Cf. the new translation by George Lawrence, in Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journey to America*, ed. J.-P. Mayer (New Haven, Conn., 1960), 182-83.

In comparing the original text edited by me and the English translation thereof with the quotations in his own book, Professor Pierson states that there are "variations and some slight differences of sentence order and paragraphing." A true comparison, however, between the two texts would reveal that his quotations are, as I have stated in the introduction to the American edition of my book, taken from sometimes faulty and incomplete transcriptions, which obviously have not been checked with the originals. What I wrote in 1960 still stands. It would therefore have been more graceful of Professor Pierson if he had stated that my edition is the complete and authentic text.

As to putting M. Jardin's name into brackets, I trust that this will not be taken as a token of insufficient recognition of his share in the work which I, on my part, have fully acknowledged in the foreword to the French edition.

Stoke Poges, Bucks., England

J. P. MAYER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his review of William Raleigh Trimble's *The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England, 1558-1603* (*AHR*, LXX [Jan. 1965], 434), Professor Perez Zagorin points out, by implication at least, the major difficulty of trying to deal with the condition of Roman Catholics and other religious Nonconformists after the establishment of the Anglican Church by Elizabeth I. More often than not it is extremely difficult to determine what law does apply in any given situation. In addition to the church attendance and other penal laws, recusants were also subject to "the censures of the Church" under canon law.

For example, Professor Zagorin gently chides Dr. Trimble for stating that certain recusants were in trouble with the authorities for failing to receive communion and not explaining how this was possible, since the Act of Uniformity (1 Eliz. I, c. 2) required only attendance at Anglican services. Professor Zagorin is, of course, right in his reading of the law. The government did, however, demand the reception of the Anglican sacrament, as Dr. Trimble's researches show. The basis for this seems to have been "the censures of the Church." The Act of Uniformity did impose *The Book of Common Prayer* on the English church. The rubrics of *The Book of Common Prayer* made Easter communion mandatory on all, and all were required to communicate three times a year (see Carl S. Meyer, *Elizabeth I and the Religious Settlement of 1559* [1960], 67).

There is another example of the confused state of the law on which Professor Zagorin did not comment. Dr. Trimble found that as early as 1561 Roman Catholic laymen were imprisoned for hearing Mass. The Act of Uniformity did forbid the saying of Mass, but it was not until 1581 that there was any legal penalty for simply hearing Mass (23 Eliz. I, c. 1). What the basis for the government's action prior to that time was is difficult to say.

One minor point remains to be raised. Professor Zagorin states that it was not until 1580 that there was any authoritative instruction to Roman Catholics to refrain from attending Anglican services. Could this be a misprint for 1570? The bull *Regnans in excelsis*, issued in the latter year, forbade Roman Catholics from giving adherence to Elizabeth and obeying her laws (which would include the church attendance laws) under pain of excommunication. As a matter of

fact, as early as 1562 Pope Paul IV issued a brief in which he described Elizabeth's church as schismatic, and Roman Catholics were warned that they attended services of a schismatic church only at grave peril to their immortal souls.

Northern Michigan University

ANTHONY H. FORBES

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I am obliged to Dr. Forbes for his reference to the *Prayer Book's* rubric on mandatory communion. This clearly answers the comment he cites from my review of Dr. Trimble's book. He might have noticed, however, that, legally speaking, the communion requirement in the *Prayer Book* did not have the same force as the command of church attendance contained in the Act of Uniformity and subsequent statutes. The law seems to have provided no specific penalty against those who refused communion. By contrast, the Act of Uniformity imposed a fine for failure to attend divine service, and in the acts of 1581 (23 Eliz. I, c. 1) and 1593 (35 Eliz. I, c. 2), the punishment became very severe. In the Parliament of 1571, the houses passed a bill to enforce the reception of communion, but the Queen vetoed it. It was not, I believe, until James I's act of 1606 (3 Jac. I, c. 4) that statute expressly ordered Catholic recusants to receive communion on pain of a fine.

These facts indicate the government's policy in the treatment of recusancy. The main, the ordinary, test was attendance at Anglican service, and this became the great standing problem for the Catholic conscience. The Jesuit, Parsons, wrote: "What the heretics require of Catholics when they throw them in prison is that they should condescend only to come to their churches . . . and be present at the sermons and service. . . ." (*Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Parsons, S.J.*, I, 1578-1588, ed. Leo Hicks, *Catholic Record Society*, XXXIX [1942], 51.) Father Robert Southwell declared that "our Recusancy [is] Refusall to be presente at the protestants service. . . ." (Robert Southwell, *An Humble Supplication to Her Maiestie*, ed. R. C. Bald [Cambridge, Eng., 1953], 42.)

As Dr. Trimble himself points out (p. 102), the English Catholics debated for many years whether, in view of the penalties, they might conform to the law enjoining church attendance without a breach of their faith. Whatever authority Pius V's bull of 1570 may have possessed—and Catholics certainly disregarded its political instruction—it gave no explicit direction as to external conformity. At any rate, after its publication the opinion still continued to be held by numerous Catholics that it was licit for them to be present at the Anglican service. Some of the clergy also shared this view. When the Jesuit missionaries, Parsons and Campion, arrived in England in 1580, they were forced to give the question considerable attention. Parsons, who strongly condemned the practice of Catholics attending the established church, wrote a book against it to convince his co-religionists: *A Brief Discours contayning certayne Reasons Why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church* (1580). Most of the authorities whom Parsons cites in this work are Biblical and patristic. He never mentions the bull of 1570, and the sole modern Catholic authority to which he refers is the Council of Trent: although even the fathers of the council, he remarks, "made noe particuler decree of this matter. . ." (p. 24r).

Johns Hopkins University

PEREZ ZAGORIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The review (*AHR*, LXX [Jan. 1965], 552) by George E. Brooks of my colleague S. Daniel Neumark's book, *Foreign Trade and Economic Development in Africa: A Historical Perspective*, reflects little credit on your reviewer, the person who commissioned the review, and the editor who printed it.

The first duty of a reviewer is to address himself to the intention of the book under review, and in this Brooks confessedly fails: "Neumark's conclusions on the strategies of development are best left to economists. . . ." It is hard to see, in the light of that remark, how he can presume to judge what should have been put into the book and what left out, or how he can suppose that his failure, as a nonexpert, to be convinced by its arguments is of any importance or interest to your readers.

If Professor Neumark had been attempting to write an economic history of Africa, the reviewer's indications of what he considered to be errors or omissions would have been to the purpose, though they would still have had to be specified. Considering what was patently—one would have thought—intended by the author, the review is plainly irrelevant. That it is, equally plainly, wanting in good manners is by comparison a slight matter.

Food Research Institute, Stanford University

RICHARD J. HAMMOND

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In reference to my review of Neumark's *Foreign Trade and Economic Development in Africa: A Historical Perspective*, I should have preferred Professor Hammond to quote me in context. The statement in my review reads as follows: "Neumark's conclusions on the strategies of development are best left to economists since the views of those with whom he takes issue are presented in attenuated form. The nonexpert will not be entirely convinced by his facile dismissal of their arguments."

Whatever the merits of Professor Neumark's final chapter may be, his study—as the title suggests—is based on historical materials. Professor Hammond's view that economists alone should pass judgment on their use strikes me as most tendentious.

Indiana University

GEORGE E. BROOKS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Book reviewing provides a test of reviewer as well as author. Louis E. Bumgartner makes a rather poor score for himself in his review of Franklin D. Parker's *The Central American Republics* (*AHR*, LXX [Jan. 1965], 594), as even a non-specialist in the field can see. To begin with, Bumgartner misconstrues the nature and scope of the book when he refers to it as a "survey of Central American history." In fact, it is intended as a survey of the contemporary scene, with enough of the historical background to give perspective. This ought to be clear to anyone who reads the preface, looks at the organization and emphasis of the book, and makes himself acquainted with the series of which it is a part. Bumgartner deals in irrelevancies, therefore, when he asserts: "The treatment of the colonial period

is weak." Quite apart from his misconception of the book as a whole, he attributes to the author positions which (as any reader can ascertain for himself) the author simply does not take. Bumgartner says, for example: "Parker believes that men dedicated to freedom and equality brought about the break with Spain." Nowhere does Parker state or imply anything of the sort. "Statistics for the consumption of wheat bread are useful only for indicating snobbery," Bumgartner airily remarks, without any reference to the sensible use to which Parker actually puts the statistics (pp. 123-24). Again, "His attitude toward Hondurans seems patronizing." It may seem so to Bumgartner, but not to the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Honduras, who has written in his own highly appreciative review of the same book (in the *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, VI [Oct. 1964], 573): "Los hondureños, especialmente, le estamos en deuda por su penetrante apreciación de nuestro modesto modo de vivir." Indeed, several other reviews of the book are such as to leave a bystander with the conviction that the rest of Bumgartner's criticisms are equally unfounded and irresponsible. He would have done considerably better to confine himself to an appraisal of the work in the light of its nature and purpose, as he does in this observation: "When Parker deals with the contemporary scene, his book is superior to anything in print."

University of Wisconsin

RICHARD N. CURRENT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

A year or so ago I had the rare opportunity to hear a distinguished historian discuss the fortunes and misfortunes of Hispanists. In his remarks he considered the rumor that Hispanists were "secondary, even second rate." His conclusions need not detain us. But I know that he and all other Hispanists will be pleased to learn that Richard N. Current has discovered Latin America. Now he offers to share with us the wisdom so peculiarly his. And he does so with all the modesty, generosity, and civility that become a Lincoln scholar. Shamefully, however, we have little chance to keep Professor Current within our ranks. Since he counts friends from the Land of Lincoln to the Piedmont of Tarheelia, we have every reason to believe that he will share with scholars in all fields his very special kind of mind. Finally, given the Lincoln scholar's great interest in Hispanic journals and his ease with the language, a few lines from Quevedo y Villegas will not be out of place, and they may hold the secret of Professor Current's catholicity.

Con cuánta majestad llena la mano
la pica, y el mosquete carga el hombro,
de que se atreve a ser buen castellano!

Con asco entre las otras gentes nombro
al que de su persona, sin decoro,
más quiere nota dar que dar asombro.

University of Georgia

LOUIS E. BUMGARTNER

Index

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Volume LXX

The titles of articles are printed in italics; the titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. Books reviewed are indexed under author, title (titles are sometimes inverted to be more meaningful), and subject. The reviewer of a book is designated by (R). Proper names with the prefix da or de, van or von are ordinarily indexed under the surname, except in those cases where custom is otherwise.

- Abbot, W. W. (R), 186.
 Abdel-Malek, Anouar, "Égypte," 1211.
 Abdul Karim, "Murshid Qulī Khān and His Times," 884.
 Abel, Wilhelm, "Geschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft vom frühen Mittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert," 136.
 Abel-Smith, Brian, "The Hospitals, 1800-1948," 1090.
 Abernethy, T. P. (R), 1240.
 Abolitionist movement. *See* Negro history.
 Abrams, R. M., "Conservatism in a Progressive Era," 1257.
 Abu-Lughod, Ibrahim, "Arab Rediscovery of Europe," 837.
 Acomb, Evelyn M. (R), 227, 862.
 Acton, Harold, "The Last Bourbons of Naples (1825-1861)," 149.
 Acton, Lord, and Döllinger, Ignaz von, "Briefwechsel, 1850-1890," I, ed. by Conzemi, 521.
 Adam, Paul, "La vie paroissiale en France au xiv^e siècle," 847.
 Adams, A. E. (R), 1109.
 Adams, H. M. (R), 541.
 Adams, Henry. *See* Sayre, R. F.
 Adams, John. *See* Handler, Edward.
 Adams, Norma (R), 511.
 Adams, R. F., "Burs under the Saddle," 801.
 Adams, R. N., *et al.*, "Continuity and Change in Latin America," ed. by Johnson, 921.
 "Adams, Charles Francis, Diary of," I and II, ed. by Donald, 1131.
 Addams, Jane. *See* Levine, Daniel.
 Adler, Selig (R), 590.
 "Adventure in the Wilderness: The American Journals of Louis Antoine de Bougainville, 1756-1760," tr. and ed. by Hamilton, 264.
 "Adventures of a Prisoner of War, 1863-1864," by Barziza, ed. by Shuffler, 1250.
 "Æthelweard, The Chronicle of," ed. by Campbell, 510.
 "Africa, The Image of: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850," by Curtin, 165.
 "Africa and the Communist World," ed. by Brzezinski, 464.
 African history: book notices, 257, 552-55, 880-82, 1208-17; book reviews, 165-67, 464-65, 785-87, 1112-16; lists of articles and other books received, 304-305, 619-20, 946, 1295-96.
 "Afrikaner's Interpretation of South African History," by Van Jaarsveld, 786.
 "Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870," by Metcalf, 793.
 "Age of Equipoise: A Study of the Mid-Victorian Generation," by Burn, 438.
 "Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800," II, by Palmer, 1076.
 Agrarian history: Abel, "Geschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft vom frühen Mittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert," 136; Chambers, "Laxton," 1158; Chen, "La réforme agraire en Chine populaire," 1218; Chevalier, "Land and Society in Colonial Mexico," tr. by Eustis, ed. by Simpson, 207; Haushofer, "Die deutsche Landwirtschaft im technischen Zeitalter," 136; Lütge, "Geschichte der deutschen Agrarverfassung vom frühen Mittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert," 136; Neale, "Economic Change in Rural India," 172; Pach, "Die ungarische Agrarentwicklung im 16-17. Jahrhundert," 1201; Slicher van Bath, "The Agrarian History of Western Europe, A.D. 500-1850," tr. by Cornish, 116; Vigier, "Essai sur la répartition de la propriété foncière dans la région alpine," 242.
 Agriculture: Bonner, "A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860," 807; Chowdhury, "Growth of Commercial Agriculture in Bengal (1757-1900)," I, 1220; Costa Filho, "A cana-de-açúcar em Minas Gerais," 279; Guerra y Sánchez, "Sugar and Society in the Caribbean," 282; Laird, ed., "Soviet Agricultural and Peasant Affairs," 162; Orwin and Whetham, "History of British Agriculture, 1846-1914," 1091; Schlebecker, "Cattle Raising on the Plains, 1900-1961," 274; Stephens, "The Taft Ranch," 908.
 "Air Power over Europe, 1944-1945," by Herington, 259.
 Airas, Pentti, "Vom Glaubenskrieg zum Klassenkrieg," pt. I, 214.

- Ajayi, J. F. A., and Smith, Robert, "Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century," 1215.
- Akers, C. W., "Called unto Liberty," 1126.
- Alagoa, E. J., "The Small Brave City-State," 880.
- Alaska. *See* Cheigny, Hector.
- Alatorre, A. *See* Rodrigues, J. H.
- Albrecht-Carrié, René, "One Europe," 1169; (R), 756.
- Albright, R. W., "A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church," 1226.
- Albright, W. F., "History, Archaeology, and Christian Humanism," 500.
- Alden, Dauril (R), 209.
- Alden, J. R. (R), 893.
- Aleandro, Girolamo. *See* Müller, Gerhard.
- Alef, Gustave (R), 1164.
- Alexander, James. *See* MacCracken, H. N.
- Alexander, R. J. (R), 1146.
- "Alexandros ho Megas kai ho Hellēnismos," by Daskalakis, 218.
- Algeria. *See* Brace, R. M.
- "Algérie contemporaine, Histoire de l'," I, by Julien, 1115.
- Allen, N. W., Jr. (ed.), "Province and Court Records of Maine," V, 891.
- Allen, R. V., lists of articles, 302-303, 617-19, 944-45, 1293-94.
- Allen, William. *See* Clancy, T. H.
- "Allen, Henry Watkins, of Louisiana," by Cassidy and Simpson, 902.
- Alman and Major: Conciliar Theory on the Eve of the Reformation*, by Oakley, 673-90.
- Altholz, J. L., "The Liberal Catholic Movement in England," 126; (R), 233, 528.
- "Alting, Egbert, Diarium van, 1553-1594," ed. by Formsma and Van Roijen, 1191.
- Altman, Jules, and Ratner, Sidney (eds.), "John Dewey and Arthur F. Bentley," 1137.
- "Alto Monferrato, La repubblica partigiana dell'," by Bravo, 545.
- Amadeus VIII, duke of Savoy. *See* Marie José.
- Amat, Thaddeus. *See* Weber, F. J.
- Ambrose, S. E., "Upton and the Army," 905.
- "America and Europe in the Political Thought of John Adams," by Handler, 473.
- "American Business Abroad: Ford on Six Continents," by Wilkins and Hill, 586.
- "American Constitution, Essays on the: A Commemorative Volume in Honor of Alpheus T. Mason," ed. by Dietze, 1234.
- "American Diplomacy during the Second World War, 1941-1945," by Smith, 1261.
- "American Epic," IV, by Hoover, 489.
- "American Foreign Policy: Current Documents, 1960," 591.
- "American Growth and the Balance of Payments: A Study of the Long Swing," by Williamson, 470.
- American Historians and the Military History of the American Revolution*, by Higginbotham, 18-34.
- American Historical Association: annual meeting, 1964, 957-74; annual meeting, 1965, 633, 1314; business meeting, 1964, 972-74; Conference on Latin American History, 1314; council meeting, 1964, 965-72; report of the executive secretary for 1964, 961-63; report of the managing editor for 1964, 963-65; Service Center for Teachers of History, 318; Ward, Paul, 975.
- "American History and the Social Sciences," ed. by Saveth, 1121.
- "American Interests and Policies in the Middle East, 1900-1939," by DeNovo, 164.
- "American Law of Treason: Revolutionary and Early National Origins," by Chapin, 570.
- "American Petroleum Industry: The Age of Energy 1899-1959," by Williamson *et al.*, 486.
- American Protective Association. *See* Kinzer, D. L.
- American Religious History, The Recovery of*, by May, 79-92.
- American Revolutionary War: Akers, "Called unto Liberty," 1126; Anburey, "With Burgoyne from Quebec," ed. by Jackman, 265; Bailyn, ed., "Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750-1776," I, 1127; Brown, "Baroness von Riedesel and the American Revolution," 1231; Callahan, "Royal Raiders," 568; Gerlach, "Philip Schuyler and the American Revolution in New York, 1733-1777," 566; Higginbotham, *American Historians and the Military History of the American Revolution*, 18-34; Kröger, "Geburt der USA," 264; Lacy, "The Meaning of the American Revolution," 893; Larrabee, "Decision at the Chesapeake," 894; Mackesy, "The War for America, 1775-1783," 475; Nelson, *The Revolutionary Character of the American Revolution*, 998-1014; Rankin, "The American Revolution," 265; Smith, "Loyalists and Redcoats," 893; Willcox, "Portrait of a General," 121.
- American Studies in Japan*, by Jansen, 413-17.
- "American Support of Free Elections Abroad," by Wright, 839.
- "Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel," by Dulles, 895.
- "Americans in Polynesia, 1783-1842," by Strauss, 266.
- "Amerikanische Regierungssystem: Eine politologische Analyse," by Fraenkel, 260.
- "Amérique et les Amériques," by Chaunu, 1224.
- "Anarchists," by Joll, 1152.
- Anastos, M. V. (R), 515.
- Anburey, Thomas, "With Burgoyne from Quebec," ed. by Jackman, 265.
- Ancient history: book notices, 218-19, 505-507, 840-41, 1154-55; book reviews, 104-107, 428-30, 749-51, 1081-83; lists of articles and other books received, 285-88, 598-601, 927-30, 1272-76.
- "And Tyler Too: A Biography of John and Julia Gardiner Tyler," by Seager, 479.

- Ander, O. F. (ed.), "In the Trek of the Immigrants," 192; (R), 864.
- Andersen, A. W. (R), 580.
- Anderson, A. J. O., and Dibble, C. E. (trs.), "Florentine Codex, Bk. XI, Earthly Things," 278.
- Anderson, E. N. (R), 869.
- Anderson, Edgar (R), 509.
- Anderson, William, "Man's Quest for Political Knowledge," 505.
- Andrews, K. R., "Elizabethan Privateering," 855.
- "Angel and the Serpent: The Story of New Harmony," by Wilson, 573.
- "Anglican and Puritan: The Basis of Their Opposition, 1558-1640," by New, 854.
- "Anselm, Saint, and His Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059-c. 1130," by Southern, 511.
- Anstey, Roger, "Britain and the Congo in the Nineteenth Century," 234.
- Antarctica. *See* Grattan, C. H.
- Anthony, D. F. (R), 562.
- "Anti-Catholicism, An Episode in: The American Protective Association," by Kinzer, 584.
- "Anti-Intellectualism in American Life," by Hofstadter, 1118.
- "'Antiojio' de Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada y las concepciones de realidad y verdad en la época de la Contrarreforma y del Manierismo," by Frankl, 536.
- "Anti-Semitism, Political, The Rise of, in Germany and Austria," by Pulzer, 772.
- Antoni, Carlo, "L'historisme," tr. by Dufour, 94.
- "Antwerp Market, The Growth of the, and the European Economy (Fourteenth-Sixteenth Centuries)," I-III, by Van der Wee, 1084.
- "Anversois, Études: Documents sur le commerce international à Anvers, 1488-1514," I-III, by Dochaerd, 1084.
- Appleby, J. T. (ed.), "The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First," 511.
- "Arab Rediscovery of Europe: A Study in Cultural Encounters," by Abu-Lughod, 837.
- "Arabian, Eastern, Frontiers," by Kelly, 551.
- Arango, E. R., "Leopold III and the Belgian Royal Question," 244.
- Arasaratnam, S., "Ceylon," 1222.
- Argentina. *See* Scobie, J. R.
- "Argentina," by Whitaker, 1267.
- "Argentina: A City and a Nation," by Scobie, 210.
- "Argentina and the United States, 1810-1960," by Peterson, 494.
- Arieli, Yehoshua, "Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology," 1230.
- Aristotle. *See* Dales, R. C.
- "Arizona, Pioneering in: The Reminiscences of Emerson Oliver Stratton and Edith Stratton Kitt," ed. by Carroll, 909.
- "Armée allemande, Histoire de l'," I-IV, by Benoist-Méchin, 1101.
- "Armées révolutionnaires: Instrument de la terreur dans les départements, avril 1793-floréal an II," by Cobb, 442.
- Armstrong, J. A. (ed.), "Soviet Partisans in World War II," 461.
- Arnade, C. W. (R), 889.
- "Arnold, Matthew, and the Three Classes," by McCarthy, 858.
- Aronson, S. H., "Status and Kinship in the Higher Civil Service," 190.
- Art and archaeology: Beckett, ed., "John Constable's Correspondence," II, 1179; Mount, "Gilbert Stuart," 809; Ramsden, tr. and ed., "The Letters of Michelangelo," I and II, 874; Rose, "The Colonial Houses of Worship in America Built in the English Colonies before the Republic, 1607-1789, and Still Standing," 262. *See also* Cultural history.
- "Artz, Frederick B., A Festschrift for," ed. by Pinkney and Ropp, 98.
- Asch, W. B., deceased, 638.
- Ash, Marian N., communication, 645.
- "Ashley, William H., The West of: The International Struggle for the Fur Trade of the Missouri, the Rocky Mountains, and the Columbia, with Explorations beyond the Continental Divide, Recorded in the Diaries and Letters of William H. Ashley and His Contemporaries, 1822-1838," ed. by Morgan, 267.
- Asia and the East: book notices, 258-60, 555-62, 882-89, 1217-24; book reviews, 167-80, 465-69, 787-94, 1116-18; lists of articles and other books received, 305-306, 620-22, 946-48, 1296-98.
- "Asian Migration to Australia: The Background to Exclusion, 1896-1923," by Yarwood, 1224.
- "Asian Revolutionary: The Life of Sen Katayama," by Kublin, 556.
- Askew, W. C. (R), 1208.
- Aspinall, A. (ed.), "The Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales 1770-1812," I, 232.
- "Aspirações nacionais: Interpretação histórico-política," by Rodrigues, 281.
- "At the Pleasure of the Mayor: Patronage and Power in New York City, 1898-1958," by Lowi, 585.
- "Atatürk ve Devrimleri Tarihi Bibliyografyası," by Gökman, 878.
- Atger, Paul, "La France en Côte-d'Ivoire de 1843 à 1893," 554.
- "Athenian Calendars on Stone, Ancient," by Pritchett, 840.
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- Hollander, L. M. *See* Snorri Sturluson.
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- Hotsumi, Ozaki. *See* Johnson, Chalmers.
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- Howard, O. O. *See* Carpenter, J. A.
- Howarth, David, "The Desert King," 879.
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- Solf, Wilhelm. *See* Vietsch, Eberhard von.
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 Spitzer, A. B. (R), 132.
 Spivakovsky, Erika (R), 133.
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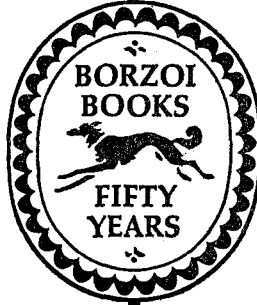
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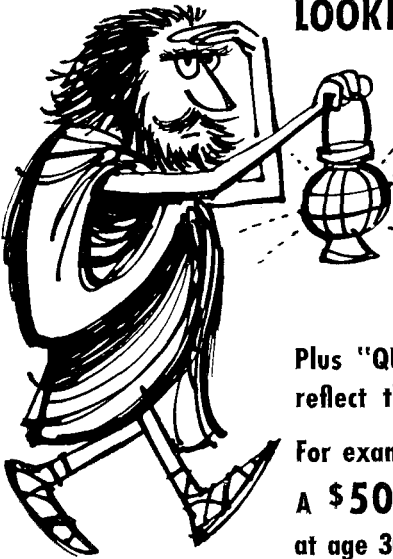
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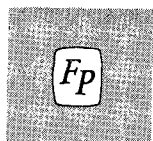
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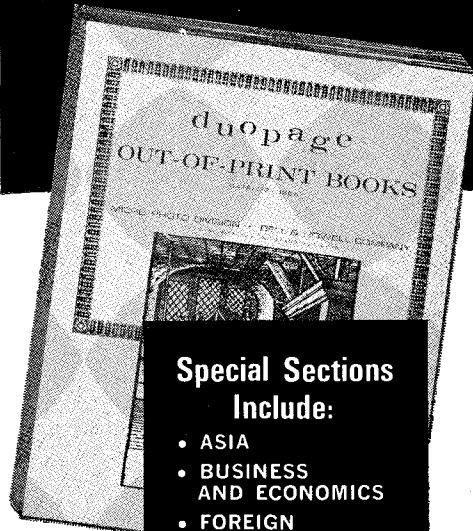
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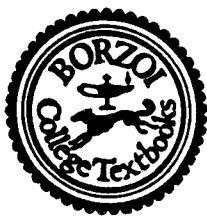
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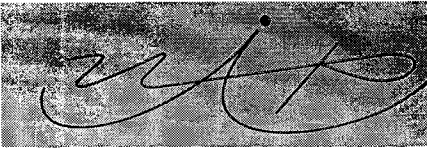
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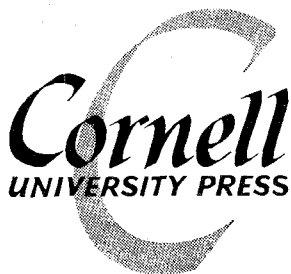
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